# The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

NEW SERIES

Index to Vol. XXV
(1934-35)

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DALY MEMORIAL HALL
BANGALORE CITY

# Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society
## Index to Vol. XXV

### ARTICLES


| | Pages |
|---|---|
| Administration of the British in India in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century— *By K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri* .. .. .. | 212–223 |
| Amatory Poems from Narrinai— *By K. G. Sesha Iyer* .. .. .. .. .. | 203–211 |
| Balacaritam— *By K. R. Pisharoti* .. .. .. .. .. | 224–235 |
| Dravidic Sandhi— *By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar* .. .. .. .. | 265–270 |
| Ganga Period, Architecture in the— *By M. V. Krishna Rao* .. .. .. .. | 161–181 |
| Hindu Influence in the Philipines— *By M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar* .. .. .. .. | 103–113 |
| Jainism in Kongu Nadu— *By C. M. Ramachandram Chettiar* .. .. .. | 87–94 |
| Karuvur or Vanjimanagaram— *By S. V. Viswanatha* .. .. .. .. | 261–264 |
| Lurik, The Ballad of— *By Sarat Chandra Mitra* .. .. .. .. | 122–135 |
| Maya Problem, The— *By K. Ramavarma Raja* .. .. .. .. | 136–140 |
| Migration—A Study of the Traditional Origin of the Dravidian Peoples of Travancore— *By L. A. Krishna Iyer* .. .. .. .. | 247–260 |
| Mughal Empire in the 16th and 17th Centuries, Population of the— *By C. S. K. Rao Saheb* .. .. .. .. | 271–284 |
| Mythical Eagle, Romance of the— *By M. Venktesia* .. .. .. .. .. | 182–202 |

PAGES

Sanskrit and Prakrit Poetesses—
*By V. Raghavan* .. .. .. .. .. 49–74
Shah Jehan's Embassy to China, 1656—
*By C. S. K. Rao Saheb* .. .. .. .. 117–121
Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Mythic Society .. 1–38
Sri Vidya—
*By K. Narayanaswami Iyar* .. .. .. .. 285–298
Taboo among the Primitive Tribes of Travancore ..
*By L. A. Krishna Iyer* .. .. .. .. 95–102
Tamil Saivism, The Authors of the Holy Canon of—
*By T. G. Aravamudan* .. .. .. .. 143–160
Vikatanitamba—
*By K. Raghavacharlu* .. .. .. .. .. 141–142
Vishnukundins—
*By S. V. Viswanatha* .. .. .. .. 75–86
Vishnu and the Krsna Legend, The Name of the God—
*By Jean Przyluski* .. .. .. .. .. 39–48
Wadeyar Rule in Mysore, Two Centuries of—
*By N. Subba Rau* .. .. .. .. .. 236–246
Yaudheyas in Ancient India—
*By Bimala Churn Law* .. .. .. .. 114–116

---

## AUTHORS

Aravamudan, T. G.—
*The Authors of the Holy Canon of Tamil Saivism* .. 143–160
Krishna Iyer, L. A.—
*Migration—A Study of the Traditional Origin of the Dravidian Peoples of Travancore* .. .. 247–260
*Taboo among the Primitive Tribes of Travancore* .. 95–102
Krishna Rao, M. V.—
*Architecture in the Ganga Period* .. .. .. 161–181
Law, Bimala Churn—
*Yaudheyas in Ancient India* .. .. .. .. 114–116
Mitra, Sarat Chandra—
*The Ballad of Lurik* .. .. .. .. .. 122–135

PAGES

Narayanaswami Iyar, K.—
*Sri Vidya* .. .. .. .. .. .. 285–298
Pisharoti, K. R.—
*Balacaritam* .. .. .. .. .. 224–235
Przyluski, Jean—
*The Name of the God Visnu and the Krsna Legend* 39–48
Raghavacharlu, K.—
*Vikatanitamba* .. .. .. .. .. 141–142
Raghavan, V.—
*Sanskrit and Prakrit Poetesses* .. .. .. 49–74
Ramachandram Chettiar, C. M.—
*Jainism in Kongu Nadu* .. .. .. .. 87–94
Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V.—
*Dravidic Sandhi* .. .. .. .. .. 265–270
Ramaswami Aiyar, M. S.—
*Hindu Influence in the Philipines* .. .. .. 103–113
Ramavarma Raja, K.—
*The Maya Problem* .. .. .. .. .. 136–140
Rao Saheb, C. S. K.—
*Population of the Mughal Empire in the 16th and 17th Centuries* .. .. .. .. .. 271–284
*Shah Jehan's Embassy to China,* 1656 .. .. 117–121
Sesha Iyer, K. G.—
*Amatory Poems from Narrinai* .. .. .. 203–211
Subba Rau, N.—
*Two Centuries of Wadeyar Rule in Mysore* .. 236–246
Venkatasubba Sastri, K. N.—
*Administration of the British in India in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* .. .. .. 212–223
Venktesia, M.—
*Romance of the Mythical Eagle* .. .. .. 182–202
Viswanatha, S. V.—
*Karuvur or Vanjimanagaram* .. .. .. 261–264
*Vishnukundins* .. .. .. .. .. 75–86

## CORRESPONDENCE

PAGES

Vishnu—
*By Dines Chandra Sircar* .. .. .. .. 301–302
Vishnukundins, Genealogy and Chronology of the—
*By Dines Chandra Sircar* .. .. .. .. 299–301

---

## REVIEWS

Advaitasiddhi (Part I) .. .. .. .. 319
Amalaka .. .. .. .. .. .. 325–326
Annual Report, Archæological Survey of India: 1928–29 327
Annual Report, Archæological Survey of Mysore: 1930 315–318
Asanas (Part I) .. .. .. .. .. 321
Bakshali Manuscript, The .. .. .. .. 320
Buddha's Nativity, Iconography of .. .. .. 326–327
Celestial Hierarchies, The .. .. .. .. 321
Classic of Purity, The .. .. .. .. .. 322
Education .. .. .. .. .. 305–306
Exploration in Sind .. .. .. .. .. 327–328
Gwalior, Archæology in .. .. .. .. .. 306
Gwalior, Guide to the Archæological Museum at .. 306
His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, Speeches by (1902–1933) .. .. .. .. .. 310
Indian Archæology, Vol. VII, 1932, Annual Bibliography of .. .. .. .. .. .. 329
Indian Philosophy, Intelligent Man's Guide to .. 318–319
Journal of the Department of Letters: Calcutta University .. .. .. .. .. 309
Kabir and the Bhakti Movement .. .. .. 311
Kannada Language, History of .. .. .. 311
Karnataka Kadambari Sangraha .. .. .. 304
Kathakali, The Art of .. .. .. .. .. 307
Kerala Theatre .. .. .. .. .. 307
Loka Prakasa (Vols. III & IV) .. .. .. 323
Mahabharata, The—Analysis and Index .. .. 303
Mahabharata, The—Southern Recension .. .. 323

| | Pages |
|---|---|
| Matsya Purana, The—A Study .. ... .. | 321 |
| Mediæval Sculpture, Eastern Indian School of .. | 324–325 |
| Metal Images, Three South Indian—A Study .. | 308 |
| Mubtala .. .. .. .. .. .. | 311 |
| Mukundamala, Sri .. .. .. .. .. | 322 |
| Orissa, The Hill Bhuiyas of .. .. .. .. | 304 |
| Prabhulingaleeleya Sangraha .. .. .. | 304 |
| Pravacana-sara and Tattva-dipika .. .. .. | 322–323 |
| Puspadanta-puranam of Gunavarma .. .. .. | 323 |
| Rgveda Samhita (Vol. I, Mandala I) .. .. | 320 |
| Sakori, Sage of .. .. .. .. .. | 305 |
| Shitab Khan of Warangal .. .. .. .. | 308–309 |
| Socrates, The Last Days of .. .. .. .. | 305 |
| South Indian Epigraphy, Annual Report of,—1931 .. | 308 |
| South Indian Inscriptions (Vol. VII) .. .. | 324 |
| Sringaralilatilaka Bhana, Sri .. .. .. .. | 326 |
| Sri Vani Vilasa Mahasannidhana Charitam .. .. | 309–310 |
| Sumatra .. .. .. .. .. .. | 312–313 |
| Tattvamuktakalapa .. .. .. .. | 319 |
| Travancore Archæological Report for 1108 M.E. .. | 307 |
| Uttararamacharitakavya .. .. .. .. | 319 |
| Vararuchi Mahamantri .. .. .. .. | 303 |
| Vayupurana, Some Aspects of .. .. .. | 320 |
| Vijayanagara: Origin of the City and the Empire .. | 313–315 |

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HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE

# The Mythic Society

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# CONTENTS


PAGES

Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Mythic Society .. 1— 38

The Name of the God Visnu and the Krsna-Legend—
By Prof. Jean Przyluski .. .. 39— 48

Sanskrit and Prakrt Poetesses—
By V. Raghavan, B.A. (Hons.) .. .. 49— 74

The Vishnukundins—
By S. V. Viswanatha, M.A. .. .. 75— 86

Jainism in Kongu Nadu—
By C. M. Ramachandram Chettiar, B.A., B.L. .. .. .. .. 87— 94

Taboo among the Primitive Tribes of Travancore—
By L. A. Krishna Iyer, M.A. .. .. 95—102

Hindu Influence in the Philipines—
By M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A., M.R.A.S. .. 103—113

The Yaudheyas in Ancient India—
By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.T. 114—116

Shah Jehan's Embassy to China, 1656 A D.—
By C. S. K. Rao Sahib .. .. .. 117—121

The Ballad of Lurik—
By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L. .. 122—135

The Maya Problem—
By K. Ramavarma Raja, B.A. .. .. 136—140

Vikatanitamba—
By K. Raghavacharlu, M.A., B.L. .. .. 141—142

The Authors of the Holy Canon of Tamil Saivism—
By T. G. Aravamuthan, M.A., B.L. .. 143—160

Architecture in the Ganga Period—
By M. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.T. .. .. 161—181

Romance of the Mythical Eagle—
By M. Venktesia, M.R.S.L. .. .. 182—202

HIS HIGHNESS THE YUVARAJA OF MYSORE

The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XXV] July, Oct. 1934, Jan. 1935 [Nos. 1, 2 & 3

## THE MYTHIC SOCIETY
## SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

THE Mythic Society completed twenty-five years of its existence on May 5, 1934, and the Council of Management appointed a Committee to arrange for the Silver Jubilee Celebrations along with the Annual Meeting.

For the Jubilee Week the following programme was arranged.

* * *

PROGRAMME

*Tuesday, November* 20, 1934—5-30 *p.m.*

INAUGURATION—

Invocation.

Welcome by Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A., *President.*

Inauguration Address by Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, KT., C.I.E., O.B.E.

Silver Jubilee Report by the General Secretary.

Illustrated Lecture on 'Gems' by Sir C. V. Raman, KT., M.A., Ph.D., D.SC., LL.D., F.R.S., N.L.

*Wednesday, November* 21, 1934—6 *p.m.*

LECTURE (Illustrated)—

'Treasures of Kannada Literature' by Prof. B. M. Srikantia, M.A., B.L.

*Thursday, November* 22, 1934—6 *p.m.*

LECTURE—

'Mysore Through the Ages' by Rajasevasakta Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D.

*Friday, November* 23, 1934—6 *p.m.*

LECTURE (Illustrated)—

'The People of Mysore' by Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.

*Saturday, November* 24, 1934—6 *p.m.*

LECTURE—

'Philosophy and Religion in Mysore' by Prof. A. R. Wadia, B.A., Bar-at-Law.

*Sunday, November* 25, 1934—6 *p.m.*

LECTURE (Illustrated)—

'Gems of Mysore Architecture' by Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt.

*Monday, November* 26, 1934—5-30 *p.m.*

ANNUAL MEETING—Mahamahopadhyaya Praktana Vimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S., *presiding*.

Presentation of the Report by the Secretary.

Adoption of the Report.

Election of President.

Election of other Office-Bearers.

Chairman's Address.

* * *

*Bangalore, Tuesday, 20th November 1934*

## INAUGURATION

BY

AMIN-UL-MULK SIR MIRZA M. ISMAIL, KT., C.I.E., O.B.E.

The Jubilee Week commenced on Tuesday, the 20th of November 1934. After invocation, the President, in inviting

Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail to inaugurate the proceedings, spoke as follows.

## Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao's Speech

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

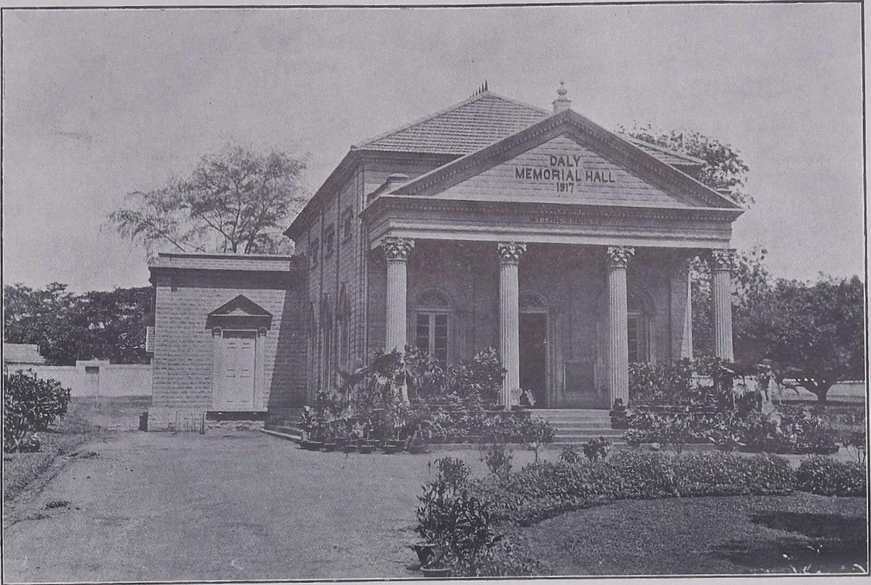
I seek the permission of all present here to offer Sir Mirza Ismail a hearty welcome to this hall in connection with the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Mythic Society. It was very kind of Sir Mirza Ismail to have acceded to our request to inaugurate the celebrations of to-day. As we all know, the Dewan of Mysore has very heavy and taxing work at all times and it was not willingly that we wished to add to his distractions. We felt, however, that we had a claim on him as one of the cultured men of the country and we were not disappointed. Besides, in these days of publicity no person occupying any high position can afford to consider reserve and silence as ornaments to that position, as they used to be in the days gone by.

When Sir Mirza Ismail began his career as Dewan he was accused, in some quarters, like the younger Pitt in England, of the atrocious crime of being young. He was only forty-three at the time. But subsequent events have shown that age is no bar to wisdom and prudence. In connection with what was known as the Sultanpet Ganesha disturbance the young Dewan had a unique way of dealing with it, which went to show that a good heart was as much needed for a statesman as a wise head. He made it the occasion to establish good relations between the different classes of society, and it must now be acknowledged that he succeeded very largely in doing so. He has now established a reputation for popularity and there are very few people now who are inclined to attach any blame to him for what was called the crime of being young at the time of his appointment as Dewan. His Highness the Maharaja showed himself a shrewd judge of character and worth when he made the appointment and thereby enabled the country to benefit by the services of one

of the great sons of India. Another feature connected with Sir Mirza Ismail is that he may be regarded as what I may call an entirely home-bred product. Of the nine Dewans of Mysore who have held office till now, seven had their training by their direct association with the British Government, and only two, Sir M. Kantaraj Urs and the present Dewan, were exceptions. Yet the result has shown that the home-bred article has been in no way inferior to that which acquired a finish under the British Government. Sir Mirza Ismail as one of the members of the Round Table Conference in England proved himself quite equal to the assembled statesmen there and established the claim of Mysore to a worthy place in the Federation of India ; a federation which is eagerly wished for by all the Indians who have the interests of this great continent at heart. In pleading the cause of Mysore for equitable and just treatment in its relations with the Imperial Government, Sir Mirza has shown himself a fearless advocate for the abolition of old feudal levies and for the improvement of our political status. Under the impulse of the present Dewan the economic improvement of the country as well as the elevation of its people to a higher political level on a conscious and deliberate plan begun during the days of Sir M. Visvesvaraya's Dewanship has received further stimulus and the political education of the people is proceeding apace. Sir Mirza Ismail has repeatedly asserted that his main task is to make it possible for every class of subjects a life of comfort and contentment and for that purpose he needed the co-operation of all. I am sure that one and all of us can give the assurance that such co-operation will not be withheld by any one who has a genuine love for the advancement of the country in which he lives.

And now, Sir, I request you to accept on behalf of the members of the Mythic Society as well as of all others present here whom I take as prospective members the welcome that we offer to you and proceed to inaugurate the Jubilee Celebrations of our Society.

* * *




THE DALY MEMORIAL HALL

Sir Mirza Ismail delivered the following address to a large and distinguished gathering.

## INAUGURATION ADDRESS

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

As I rise to address you on this notable and auspicious occasion, which marks the opening of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Mythic Society, my mind naturally goes back to the day, the 30th August 1916, when His Highness the Maharaja laid the foundation stone of this hall, which provides a local habitation for the Society and honours the memory of that sincere friend of Mysore, Colonel Sir Hugh Daly. From that day to this, this hall has served the useful purpose of bringing together Europeans and Indians in an endeavour which satisfies the higher intellectual needs of civilized life. It could not, I think, have been put to better use nor fulfilled more aptly the declared wish of His Highness the Maharaja.

The Society's work during the past twenty-five years has been much before the public eye—thanks to the energetic and capable Executive that has managed its affairs. Of Father Tabard, its President-Founder, it has been truly declared that *he* was the Mythic Society. When the history of this learned Society comes to be written, a hundred years hence, his name and deeds will certainly loom large in it. Not only did he skilfully organise its beginning : he took a most prominent part in its every-day activities, speaking, writing and travelling for its sake, ever enhancing its reputation among the sister associations of its kind. He has had a worthy successor in your present President Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, one of the earliest of the band of patriotic scholars who have laboured hard in the field of Mysore history. The Society has also had the advantage of the sage counsel of able and distinguished men, the late Sir Leslie Miller, for example, and a whole host of others, whose interest in the Society has been both keen and persistent. As regards those who have presided over its public meetings and annual functions, their names would make a splendid list of distinguished personages,

local and foreign. Of those who have lectured in this hall, I could not even dream of a list. Much less am I capable of referring with anything like justice to the topics on which they have, in scholarly fashion, discoursed. I cannot, however, resist the temptation of saying that the Society has, from all accounts, won the high approbation of scholars of world-wide repute. Its journal is valued in widely distant parts of the world and it has created a place for itself among the publications of antiquarian societies.

The Society's work deserves to be still better known. Its activities must be multiplied and it should keep in the front of its policy its special duty towards the study of things Mysorean. "Mysoreans must study Mysore," said the late Rev. Father Tabard, "and they will love and understand Mysore all the more." That was a true saying, and I would commend it to you all on an occasion like this, when we are taking stock of the progress of the Society during a quarter of a century. The elucidation of the history of Mysore and of its antiquities has gone on these five and twenty years under the auspices of this Society and let us hope that when the time comes for the celebration of its Golden Jubilee, it will have to its credit long rows of authoritative volumes dealing with these subjects written in the true spirit of critical scholarship and an enduring gift to the country.

It is needless for me to state that His Highness' Government have always evinced the warmest interest in this Society and have made substantial contributions annually towards its work. It is gratifying to note from the large external membership that there is a growing appreciation of its work in other parts of India. I would urge that you should in every way endeavour to maintain the interest of this wider clientele in furthering the work of the Society.

I will not detain you longer except to declare that the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, are now open and that the promised events will give you glimpses of Mysore in its most interesting aspects. And Mysore is indeed worthy of such devotion. The poet's words with but

THE LATE REV. FR. A. M. TABARD, M.A., M.R.A.S.

a trifling change, may well be applied to our ancient and historic land.

Nature here shows Art,
That through her bosom makes one see her heart.

* * *

After the address, Mr. S. Srikantaya, General Secretary, referred to the various messages of congratulations received from H. H. The Maharaja of Mysore, H. H. The Yuvaraja of Mysore and others and read the following Report.

## Silver Jubilee Report

The Mythic Society was founded on the 5th of May 1909 by Rev. A. M. Tabard in close association with Mr. F. J. Richards, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and many other European and Indian residents in Bangalore, for the encouragement of study in South Indian History, Ethnology and Religion and the stimulation of research in these and allied subjects. The active pursuit of these objects by means of research, lectures, field days and excursions to places of historical importance has resulted in the accumulation of a large body of historical information embodied in the volumes of the *Journal* of the Society. Our first President was Dr. Morris Travers, F.R.S., then Director of the Indian Institute of Science and he was succeeded next year by Father Tabard, Vice-President, the life and soul of the Mythic Society. In the words of the late Sir Leslie Miller, 'Father Tabard was the Mythic Society and the Mythic Society was Father Tabard.' His services to the cause of Indian culture and research were appropriately recognised by the conferment of the title of "Rajasabhabhushana" on him by H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore. His friends and admirers instituted The Father Tabard Memorial Gold Medal in the Mysore University. His demise in 1926 cast a gloom not only on the members of the Society but throughout the world of antiquarian scholars. Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A., succeeded to the distinguished office of President and has since then continued to inspire and guide the numerous activities of this Institution with conspicuous ability and signal success.

The Mythic Society has been trying to keep alive information which but for its timely succour was liable to be lost. We have been enabled to secure the gracious patronage and continuing encouragement of the Mysore Royal House and to enlist the sympathy of various other rulers, princes and nobles from distant Nepal in the North to Travancore in the South and from Cooch Behar in the East to Baroda in the West. The Society has earned recognition from the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the Governments of the various provinces and the Indian States and several universities. It has the privilege of being associated with the University of Mysore and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and has entered the company of similar societies of much longer standing not only in India but in Europe, America and Japan. Its unpaid ambassadors are found far away in Japan and America. It has the co-operation of scholars and pandits from all parts of India.

The Mythic Society was holding its meetings and lectures in the Central College and other places till, with the generous patronage extended to the Society by our Patron, His Highness The Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness' Government and others, the activities of the Society were transferred to these beautiful premises named after Sir Hugh Daly. The foundation stone was graciously laid by His Highness the Maharaja on the 30th of August 1916. The Daly Memorial Hall recalls to our memory and to the memory of future generations the name of a high-minded British Officer who was a sincere friend of Mysore and its people. It serves to bring together Europeans and Indians on a common platform for a common object which appeals to the higher intellectual tastes of civilized life. The building was opened by our Vice-Patron, His Highness The Yuvaraja of Mysore, on the 25th of July 1917 when he paid a glowing tribute to Father Tabard, his tenacity of purpose, his taste for things antiquarian and to his intense love for Mysore and its traditions, which was responsible as much for the Mythic Society as for the condition in which we find it to-day.

The Library of the Mythic Society was formed with the nucleus of a gift of a very substantial number of books on antiquarian research presented by Father Tabard and largely augmented with the presentations made by the Government of India, the Government of Mysore and other States and the various provincial governments in India, the several universities in India and other authors and publishers. The catalogue of books in the Mythic Society has been brought up-to-date with supplements and additions noticed in the pages of the *Journal* from time to time.

The *Journal of the Mythic Society* has served through the papers read before the Society and other contributions published in it, to make India, most especially Mysore, better known throughout the world. Scholars and research students from all parts of India and abroad come here, visit this Institution and carry away pleasant recollections of their association with us. Distinguished savants, nobles, princes, and statesmen have also been pleased to pay a visit to the Mythic Society and its Library and to mark their appreciation of our work.

The financial position, for various causes, has not been latterly what it should have been and we are yet far from the ideals of its founder in our effort to have a substantial reserve fund. The world crisis and the financial depression of the times have badly hit the Mythic Society in common with sister institutions elsewhere. Literary activity and scholarly research require both leisure and financial backing. Our Library needs considerably to be augmented. Some expansion of the building is necessary to provide for quiet study. Our patrons in the past have indeed been very generous, but, in the circumstances, we cannot help asking for more, and we pray that better times will soon dawn and the anxieties of the Institution will be eased and the Society enabled to carry out in ampler measure, the high aims which it has set before itself.

To-day we are celebrating the Silver Jubilee of the Mythic Society and are entering upon what we hope will be a vigorous and still more useful career of this Institution. Throughout, its members have been guided by the lives, ideals and traditions

of its founders as well as by the spirit of service left by them. To Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, our Vice-President, who has all along been one of its most distinguished members and has been so good as to inaugurate our Silver Jubilee Celebrations this evening, we owe a special debt of gratitude for the many acts of kindness which we have received at his hands, and which he has taught us to expect from him in the future—a future which we hope will see our beloved Society flourish, and go on from strength to strength and serve in an increasing degree the cause of culture and research in India.

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## Sir C. V. Raman on "Gems"

After the reading of the Report by the Secretary, Sir C. V. Raman, Director of the Indian Institute of Science, gave an interesting lecture on 'Gems' illustrating it with slides and spoke of the beauty of Nature's superior handicraft in the construction of diamonds, opals, mother-of-pearl and the like. A study of gems provided an entrancing field for research. Their exceptional properties interested not only the lover of beautiful things but also the man who loved knowledge for its own sake as well as the man who sought to understand Nature and try to know the mysteries and the structures which Nature builds for the edification of man and woman. Gems had often been the subject of myths and quite a big work could be written regarding the numerous superstitions and beliefs and the historical associations of the gems. The story of the Kohinoor, for instance, was the story of India. Gems, again, were often-times considered as the harbingers of misfortune to their owners: sometimes they were lucky to a few and unlucky to others. Jewels were believed in some cases to have brought health to wearers. To give another example, the 'Blue Hope' diamond was believed to have brought disaster, misery and sorrow to those who were in possession of it. Gems nevertheless exercised a fascination on the human mind. The glitter of the diamond continued, as ever, to charm the heart of the sophisticated modern lady as it did the women of the older generations because human nature was the same.

The now old crown of the Empress Catherine of Russia in Moscow was a collection of great interest, made of a large number of Indian diamonds, and a gigantic monument to the vanity of a woman. The fundamental property in gems which illustrated the handiwork of Nature, which was one of the most permanent objects found in Nature and which provided Nature's attractions over mankind, was in a great number of them a crystalline solid. In the diamond, Nature showed herself a greater and more skilful architect than the great builder of the Taj and a more expert geometrician than Euclid. Diamond was the supremest of all gems : it provided the gateway to the knowledge of the solid state : it had a cubic form and was transparent. Every atom of diamond was surrounded by four others, which were linked together by finer chemical bonds and it was one of the most powerful problems in Physics and Chemistry to understand the nature of these bonds. The spectrum of the diamond was an extremely interesting picture. The physicist tried to understand the crystal in various ways : polarisation of light, electron-diffraction, X-rays and scattering of light. The whole of the diamond, even weighing hundreds of carats, was a single molecule. The atoms were all arranged cubically ; there were two cubic lattices which interpenetrated each other ; all the atoms were linked together and their properties were really remarkable.

Opal was hydrostated silica, scattering colours to electrical beams. It was more like a liquid than a solid and its beauty lay in its iridescence, the facets taking the form of brilliant sheets of colour.

The mother-of-pearl was peculiarly feminine in its characteristics. Its optical properties were due to a thin layer of calcite of the width of a millionth of an inch, and the mother-of-pearl revealed quite a number of new and surprising optical effects. Current ideas regarding the structure of the mother-of-pearl were erroneous. It did not consist of alternating layers of horny matter and chalk as hitherto supposed. The medium was really quite homogeneous but penetrated by a series of

parallel sheets, only a few molecules thick, of some intrusive substance, which was very probably crystalline calcite, the existence of which could be established by a special type of microscopic illumination.

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*Wednesday, 21st November 1934*

Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao, B.A., B.L., in the chair.

Prof. B. M. Srikantia, M.A., B.L., of the University of Mysore, delivered an illustrated lecture on 'The Treasures of Kannada Literature'.

Prof. Srikantia began with the words of Father Tabard, quoted by Sir Mirza Ismail in his inaugural address: "Mysoreans must study Mysore" and remarked that the words should be understood, for the purpose of his lecture, to mean really, "Kannadigas must study Karnataka". With the literary map of Karnataka on the screen, he pointed out the capitals and centres of the culture, civilization and literature of Karnataka in the ancient, mediæval and modern times—Sravanabelgola, Banavasi, Malkhed, Badami, Kalyan, Bijapur, Vijayanagar, Seringapatam and others where the poets lived. Mysore was only half the Karnataka country, the other half consisting of the Nizam Karnatak, the Bombay Karnatak, the Madras Karnatak and Coorg. He quoted Nripatunga's remark that in those days the Karnataka land lay between the Cauveri and Godavari; and referred to a recently discovered inscription in the Nizam's dominions showing that Pampa lived near the Godavari. In early times, as now, Kannada was surrounded by Mahratti on the north, Telugu to the east and north-east, Tamil to the east and south, and had the sea on the west coast, which opened up commerce with Babylonia, Egypt and Greece. There were scholars who thought Kannada was employed in a Greek farce of the second century A.D.

After a bird's-eye view of Kannada literature, especially in its Jaina, Virasaiva and Brahmana sections, the lecturer dwelt on the great spiritual ideals of these three religions, dealing with Bhakti, Gnana, Vairagya and Moksha, and quoted

profusely from Pampa's *Adi Purana,* Ranna's *Ajita Purana,* Basavanna's *Vachanas,* Mahadeviakka's *Vachanas* and Kumara Vyasa's *Bharata* and Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar's *Gita Gopala.* Jainism, Virasaivism and Brahmanism might differ in certain aspects and might have fought like antagonists in the past, but to a modern Kannadiga they were full of nobility and inspiration, containing as they did the cream of spiritual exploration carried out by Kannadigas in the past. Kannada literature was the result of their efforts to popularise and democratise religion.

Turning to the literary and artistic side of Kannada literature, the lecturer explained how the first rank poets had assimilated and given an individual turn to the great literary masterpieces of India, the Bharata, the Ramayana, the Bhagavata and many a noble episode in the Puranas, like the stories of Harischandra and Prahlada and Pampa was by ancestry Brahmin but by faith a Jaina and had the two cultures harmonised in him. His *Adi Purana* and his *Bharata* were the two brightest jewels in the crown of Karnataka poetry. The epic planning, the vigorous, rapid and dignified movement and diction, the beauty of natural description and above all the exalted and tragic portraiture of Duryodhana, Karna and other heroes were unsurpassed. Ranna followed with a surer touch and a more moving style, in his *Gadayuddha* and set forth in full the heart-rending sorrows of Duryodhana on the battlefield and Nagachandra, calling himself Abhinava Pampa, gave in his *Ramayana* a picture of Ravana taken no doubt from Vimala Suri's *Paumachariya,* but considerably ennobled and idealised, worthy to rank with the tragic heroes, not only of Pampa and Ranna but, one may even say, of Shakespeare himself. Raghavanka's study of Harischandra's temptation and testing by the cruel Visvamitra and his pariah daughters was dramatic, psychological, and quivered with the great tenderness of the Reformer Basava towards the oppressed and the downfallen. Not only in these heroic and sublime levels, but in love, in devotion, in the home affections and in many an idyll of country sights and country life, Kannada poets like Harisvara,

Shadakshari, Janna, Nemichandra and Kanakadasa had reflected the simple and pious lives of the Kannada people.

In the ethical and gnomic domain, Sarvajna Murti's maxims are household words, and *Somesvara Sataka* is quoted by the man in the street. The *Dasara Padas* are manuals of piety and good conduct, sung at every door by wandering beggars.

Many a song of this temper in Chikkadevaraja's *Gita Gopala* is written in popular tunes, in the simplest style and great literary charm. Nor is Honnamma to be forgottan, who was a maid in his harem and wrote at his request the fine *Hadibadeya Dharma*—the duties and dignity of womenhood and wifehood. Who can forget her question—was not the mother a woman, was not the nurse and nourisher of man a woman ? Why then do the blind fools look down upon a woman and cry—oh, she is a woman ? Kannada literature is honoured by the contributions of the two women writers, one in prose and one in verse—Mahadeviakka and Honnamma.

That brings us down to Seringapatam and the Mysore Royal Family, the latest patrons of Kannada language and literature, some of them themselves authors. Under the ægis of the Mysore Kings, Mysore and Bangalore had now taken up the work of conserving, consolidating and modernising Kannada and adding one more glorious chapter to the literary history of the Kannada Nad. The lecture closed with a picture of His Highness the Maharaja, under whose inspiration and guidance the sacred cause of the culture and civilization of the Kannada people had an assured future.

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*Thursday, 22nd November 1934*

Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, B.A., M.D., in the chair.

Mr. S. Srikantaya, General Secretary, delivered a lecture on 'Mysore Through the Ages'.

Mr. Srikantaya took a brief survey of Mysore's history. Starting with the possibility of the existence of Palæolithic man in the oldest crust of the earth's surface (Mysore in the Deccan), the lecturer spoke about the next possibility of the

Iron Age Man being a direct descendent of the Neolithic and said that the present inhabitants were probably descended from the former. After a brief description of the geology, palæontology, archæology and geography of the country, he went on to say that the history of Mysore was not a dull narrative of battles fought and won, or lost, but one of great interest, not only from the political aspect but from the point of view of the ethnologist, the sociologist and the student of religion and art. Research was not a mere chronicle of kings and peoples ; imagination and perspective were needed to clothe with flesh and blood rulers and peoples of long ago. He then referred to Mysore in myth and legend and tradition, and instanced it by reference to the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and the Puranas of the Hindus as well as the traditions of the Mahomedans. The lecturer traced the connection with Mysore of the Haihayas, a foreign tribe of Scythian origin, the Saisunagas, the Nandas and the Mauryas and of Asoka in particular and then of the various South Indian dynasties too numerous to mention.

He next dwelt on the sway of the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagara kings in Mysore. Of the Rajas of Mysore, the first were Vijaya and Krishna said to have come from Kathiawar. A summary of these rulers and of Haidar and Tippu with particular reference to the making up of the present territories of Mysore was then given as also an account of the Mysore Commission, the rule of Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar of revered memory, the regency of the late lamented Maharani and finally the reign of the present ruler, His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar, an ornament to the illustrious throne of the patriotic Hoysala, Vira Ballala III, and acknowledged on all hands as one of the greatest statesmen of the day. The lecturer concluded : "May Providence grant the continuance of a reign so benevolent to his people, whose main purpose is with unceasing effort to endeavour to promote the welfare and prosperity of his country."

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*Friday, 23rd November 1934*

Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt., in the chair.

Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., addressed on 'Peoples of Mysore', illustrated with pictures.

About the earliest inhabitants of Mysore little was known though stone monuments found in various parts of the State pointed unmistakably to the existence in pre-historic times of races of people of whom there was still a great deal to learn. The remains of Palæolithic man, mostly chipped stone implements, were found embedded in Pleistocene deposits among which were sharply pointed, oval, adze-shaped and spear-headed palæoliths, etc. These people apparently died out at a low stage of culture and were succeeded by people of the Neolithic age whose existence is borne out by implements and weapons made by chipping and subsequently grinding and polishing suitably hard and tough stone. By this time, the art of making pottery had been discovered as also that of drilling stone and other hard materials. Their descendents were the Iron Age men during whose time stone implements were almost entirely displaced by iron ones. The Neolithic man of Mysore probably differed much from his brethren even in Southern India. He knew several domesticated and wild animals, indulged in decorating the horns of his buffalo, made ornamental pottery, possessed some ideas of ownership, knew in all likelihood the spear and the bow and the arrow in addition to short-handled axes, swords, daggers and maces. Dress was in use, ornaments worn, tattoo was possibly practised.

Their relation to the modern population is a very difficult question to answer. The evidence of ethnology suggests that the population of these parts was made up of at least three primary elements: pre-Dravidian, Dravidian and the Aryan. The geographical position of Mysore has rendered it possible to be affected by ethnic influences of a varying kind while Mysore itself has sent waves of immigrants to the outlying parts and beyond. Southern India may thus be supposed to

be an ethnological block. Some of the forest and hill tribes, perhaps, are racially distinct from the Dravidians. The Veddas of Ceylon probably belong to the Bedar and similar castes elsewhere. They may well be compared to the forest and jungle tribes of South India like the Kurumbas, Irulas, etc. The question then arises whether these classes of people, who are different from the Dravidian as well as the Aryan, are the representatives of a submerged Negrito element that in early days found its way into Southern India as suggested by De Quatrefage. Dr. Keane seems to consider Negroid traits in these aborigines. This question has to be considered along with or rather in relation to language. Mons. Lapicque, Thurston, Haddon and others term them as pre-Dravidians, probably derived from the Dasyus of Hindu tradition. If the pre-Dravidians are ethnically related to the Veddas of Ceylon and the Sakais of the Malay Peninsula as held by Thurston and Haddon, then we have to agree to the suggestion that there were migrations between India and Papuasia, for unless we predicate such migrations in primeval times, it is difficult to explain the observed similarities in language and the social system in the Dravidians proper and the Australians.

The subject is too vast for consideration. As to who the Dravidians are, Risley himself leaves the question open. Much less can we discuss the relation of caste to race and the conflicting theories propounded in regard to it. Nesfield assumes the essential unity of the Indian race and holds that caste is merely a question of occupation; but with Risley the primal distinction is one of race engendered by the contact of the conquering fair-skinned Aryans and the conquered black aborigines with a regular gradation of social rank and well-developed principles of endogamy. The peculiarities of the caste system have afforded occasion for the entertainment of the most divergent views on its influence on Hindu progress. But these and other questions affecting the social and religious aspects of existence in Mysore fall into the sphere of the next lecture in the series to which, the lecturer said, he would leave them.

Several pictures were shown in illustration of the various types of people inhabiting Mysore.

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*Saturday, 24th November 1934*

Mr. D. Venkatramiah, B.A., L.T., in the chair.

Prof. A. R. Wadia, B.A., Bar-at-Law, delivered an address on "Religion and Philosophy in Mysore".

He made a comprehensive survey of the various religious traditions and beliefs that influenced the life and thought of the people of Mysore. The term Hinduism which was described as an encyclopædia of all religions, peculiarly applied to Mysore, the home of a large number of religions representing from the highest flights of philosophic thought to the lowest beliefs in animism. However, the main stream of genuine religious thought from early times was inspired by the Vedic religion, though it had suffered on account of the Dravidian influence.

Buddhism and Jainism were prominent among the several "protest reform movements" that followed the Vedic religion. Jainism had been the State religion during the times of the Rashtrakutas, the Satavahanas and the Gangas. The Sringeri Mutt in Mysore, which was a great gain to the religious life of the State was a stronghold of Advaitism. The Philosophy of Advaita was deeply intellectual. It did not satisfy the ordinary human beings, lacking in a warmth of feeling. The Vaishnavism of Sri Ramanuja filled in the want and captured the imagination of the masses. Ramanuja's message to the untouchables was wonderful and was conceived in a generous spirit. If only people had lived up to it, many social problems which were engaging the attention of reformers at the present time would not have arisen at all.

Veerasaivism held a powerful sway over a certain section of people in Mysore. Lingayets, the adherents of Veerasaivism, believed that their religion was as old as the Vedas. Historically, Veerasaivism ought to be considered a distinct and live religion ever since the days of Basava, the great religious reformer. Basava was responsible for the introduction of a

democratic spirit into the religion. According to his agamas, a Brahmin or a Sudra rose above his caste, the moment he put on the Lingam, which was considered to be the living embodiment of divine energy, faith, firmness and a complete repudiation of the caste system. Veerasaivism was the religion of the royal family of Mysore from 1399 to 1605. This circumstance resulted in the amazing strength and popularity of the creed in the State.

Regarding the influence of Christianity on the life of the people of the Kannada country, though it was responsible for a certain amount of democratization of religion, its votaries themselves unfortunately compromised their religion considerably. The Christian missionaries allowed the continuance of the caste system in the church itself. The Indian Christians in South India were as much caste-ridden as their Hindu brethren. The allocation of different parts of the church for the different 'castes' among Christians and the setting apart of certain hours of prayer for each of the sects could not be supported by the teachings of Christ.

Zoroastrianism was flourishing in Mysore under the kindly patronage of His Highness the Maharaja. Zoroastrianism was commonly described as "Fire Worship". One may not be ashamed of it if the Zoroastrians were considered so in the sense in which Christians were considered "Cross Worshippers" and Muslims "Crescent Worshippers". To Zoroastrians, Fire was merely symbolic of the Divine Power. Some people believed that a Zoroastrian could amass wealth by worshipping Fire but it was not right to suppose so.

Of the modern reform movements in religion, the Arya Samaj was gradually beginning to exert an influence on the people of the State. Even more powerful in exerting influence was the Ramakrishna Mission, the votaries of which Order had adopted a new angle of vision in the religious life of the country and this new angle of vision was distinctly borrowed from Christianity. The ideals of equality of all and service to the suffering were being practised by the members of this Order. Theosophy had cured humanity of

the consciousness that Truth was the monopoly of a single religion.

Dealing next with the relation between Philosophy and Religion, Prof. Wadia defined the former as knowledge and the latter as action. He said that there was a conflict between the two, in Europe and in India. The absence of a crusade against the lower forms of beliefs in the Hindu Religion was due to an unfortunate conflict between Religion and Philosophy in India. However, there was a great vitality in the Vedantic saying " Love your neighbour as your own self ".

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*Sunday, 25th November 1934*

Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao
in the chair.

Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt., delivered a lantern lecture on " Gems of Architecture in Mysore ".

Before the lecture, Mr. S. Srikantaya, the Secretary of the Society, in announcing that the lectures would come to a close with the evening's address, said that one would have observed from these lectures what a wealth of material was available to the student of history in the various departments of knowledge and of human activity, of what hoary antiquity Mysore and its traditions were and what great advancement had been achieved in a mutual spirit of toleration and with an eye to the greatest happiness of the largest number with which the rulers of Mysore had been imbued.

A glance at the volumes of the *Journal of the Mythic Society* would show what a vast field had been covered by the members of the Society respecting Mysore with regard to history or tradition, architecture or archæology, ethnology or anthropology, religion or philosophy. Mr. Srikantaya in conclusion expressed the deep sense of gratitude of the Society and its obligation to the distinguished scholars who had taken the trouble to deliver the lectures, to the several gentlemen who presided over the deliberations from day to day and to all who were kind enough to co-operate in making these celebrations a success.

In his lecture, Dr. Krishna dealt with the subject under five heads, *viz.*, Architecture of the early Dravidian period, of the tenth century A.D., the Vijayanagar style of Architecture, the Moslem Monuments and the European Monuments. In Italy were the treasures of European Architecture, and in Mysore there were some monuments of which any country could speak more proudly than even these treasures of European architecture.

Of the early Dravidian, *i.e.*, fourth century A.D., the Paramesvara Temple in Thalagunda was a masterpiece of the Dravidian style of architecture. There was further development of the Dravidian style in the Chalukyan temples of which the Gomatesvara in Sravanabelgola was the greatest monument. In Gomatesvara was portrayed the religion of the times, Jainism, a religion of the spirit of renunciation and kindly feeling towards the world. During the Chalukyan Empire, one of the greatest empires, sculptural work developed greatly.

The famous temples at Belur and Halebid were perhaps the greatest monuments of the Hoysala style. The various parts of these temples were constructed at various times. There was exquisite carving on the walls of these temples and great architectural critics were of opinion that nowhere else in the world greater attention had been paid to carving than on the walls of these temples. On these walls were seen the pictures of gods and goddesses singing and dancing, showing that dancing was not an art to be looked down upon. Perhaps the most interesting figures in all the temples were the bracket figures of Belur. Showing a picture of the temple at Halebid, Dr. Krishna said that there was a variety of two dozen pillars, each having its own beauty. The Hoysalesvara Temple at Halebid was a veritable museum of sculpture.

The Vijayanagar style was a new revival of architecture, a mixture of the Hindu and Moghul styles. Of European architecture in Mysore, one could see pieces of it in the Oriental Library at Mysore and the Daly Memorial Hall at Bangalore.

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*Monday, 26th November 1934*

## Annual Meeting

Praktana Vimarsha Vichakshana Karnataka Prachya Vidya Vaibhava Mahamahopadhyaya Rao Bahadur Mr. R. Narasimhachar, Retired Director of Archæology in Mysore, presided over the Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society, held on the evening of Monday, the 26th November 1934, in the Daly Memorial Hall, Bangalore City.

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Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao was unavoidably absent from this meeting. In his absence Rao Sahib Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao read the following speech of Mr. Shama Rao welcoming Rao Bahadur Mr. R. Narasimhachar.

### Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao's Speech

I owe an apology for my not being able to attend the Annual Meeting to-day as it will be some time before I can freely walk about. I seek your permission to offer our hearty welcome to one of our valued members and our Vice-President, Praktana Vimarsha Vichakshana, Karnataka Prachya Vidya Vaibhava, Mahamahopadhyaya, Rao Bahadur Mr. R. Narasimhachar who has so kindly consented to be our Chairman this evening. We have known each other for more than half a century now ever since our school days and all these years he has been a steadfast worshipper at the shrine of the Goddess of Learning, Sarasvati, never troubling himself to earn fame in any other sphere of activity. Such men of continued scholarly habits, I need scarcely say, are very limited in number and as such he is fully entitled to our regard and esteem. The title of Mahamahopadhyaya conferred on him recently by the Government of India does as much honour to him as he does honour to it by his ripe scholarship which has won international reputation. For many an article on important topics published in our *Journal*, we are very much beholden to him.

A matter on which we may all congratulate ourselves is the completion of the Silver Jubilee of our Society. We have borne ample testimony as you already know to the late

Father Tabard whose invaluable services as Founder of our Society can never be forgotten. There are, however, fortunately some others who are still with us or in our midst and we cannot pass over them without expressing our appreciation of their services. First, I refer to Mr. F. J. Richards and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar who ably assisted Father Tabard in founding the Society and who have been all along evincing great interest in the activities of this institution. My next reference will be to Mr. A. V. Ramanathan who shouldered the responsibilities of the office of the Secretary for several years in the past and whose interest in the progress of our Society is even now unabated. And last, but not least, reference will be to Mr. S. Srikantaya, our energetic General Secretary who, I need hardly say, has been now for nearly fifteen years, the life and soul of the Mythic Society. The success of the Silver Jubilee celebrations has amply witnessed his capacity and foresight for carrying out the arrangements connected with them for over a week. Along with the exacting duties of his profession as a busy lawyer, he manages to devote himself to antiquarian literature and our *Journal* is enriched by a number of his scholarly contributions. Lastly, I wish to express on your behalf and on my own our appreciation of the very good work that our Curator, Mr. M. Venktesia, has been doing for the last many years. His good work in the literary field as well as in the general administration of the Society deserves high commendation.

I now offer our hearty welcome to Mr. Narasimhachar and request him to take the Chair and conduct the proceedings of this evening.

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The Secretary, Mr. S. Srikantaya, then presented the following Annual Report for 1933-34.

## Annual Report for 1933-34

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure in placing before you this evening a Report of the Society's activities during 1933-34.

In common with the people of Mysore and elsewhere, we greatly deplore the demise on the 7th of July last of Her Highness Maharani Vani Vilasa Sannidhana, C.I., and tender our most heartfelt and respectful condolences to our gracious sovereign, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and to His Highness the Yuvaraja and to the other members of the Royal Family.

We record with deep sorrow the death of the following members of the Society:—Mr. K. H. Ramayya, Rao Bahadur B. Krishniengar and Mr. P. Sampat Iyengar, the last of whom was one of the earliest members of the Society and a member of the Committee for many years.

It is a matter of considerable regret that the *Indian Antiquary*, one of the foremost journals of research in India, should have been obliged to cease publication under stress of financial embarrassment after a most brilliant and useful service for more than half a century.

*Membership.*—Membership of the Society continues fairly steady. We have again to request such of our members as are in arrears to clear them up early. We again repeat our appeal to our members to introduce new members to the Society. Instead of the January issue of the *Journal* as heretofore, the July issue, *i.e.*, the first number of each volume of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* will be sent by V.P.P. to the moffussil members from 1935-36.

*Meetings.*—Several meetings were held during the year and interesting lectures delivered under the auspices of the Society. Mr. Frank R. Sell, one of the original members of the Society and connected with the *Journal* as Editor for close upon twenty years, left for England last May. On the eve of his departure a farewell entertainment was given to Mr. and Mrs. Sell. We desire to take this opportunity of expressing our great appreciation of the excellent work he did for us, often at great personal sacrifice, and we wish Mr. and Mrs. Sell many, many happy years of retired life in their homeland.

*Finance.*—The total receipts for the year including an opening balance of Rs. 54-12-6 was Rs 3,586-1-6. The total

expenditure during the year came to Rs. 3,556-7-3 leaving a closing balance of Rs. 29-10-3. Our reserve fund stands at Rs. 11,750, all in gilt-edged securities and calculated at face-value.

Our financial difficulties which started with the cut in our grants continue and we are finding it very hard even to meet our normal expenses. We hope that better times will soon dawn and the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore will be in a position to restore our grants and to augment them.

We desire to express our sincere thanks to Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam, Accountant, the Bank of Mysore, for very kindly continuing to audit our accounts.

*Reading Room.*—The total number of visitors to the Free Reading Room attached to the Library during the year was 3,534. Daily and weekly newspapers continue to be placed on the table and more important periodicals made available to the visitors.

*Library.*—As in the previous year, we have not been able to add any substantial number of volumes to the Library. We continue to receive books by presentation and for review in the *Journal*. The binding of periodicals and the acquisition of missing numbers of journals and other reports are being done. We appeal to our members and others to present the Library with important books, magazines, reports and other publications relating to the subjects in the study of which the Society is interested. Our thanks are due to the Government of India, the several provincial administrations in India and Burma, the States of Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Kashmir, Travancore, Cochin and Pudukkottai, the Universities of Mysore, Madras, Calcutta and Dacca and the Annamalai University and the various other authors and publishers for presenting the Library with their publications for review in the Society's *Journal*. We have not yet been able to provide adequate space for the Library by an extension of the building.

*Journal.*—The *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* is circulated all over India, Europe, America, Japan and

elsewhere. It is highly appreciated by eminent scholars and is regarded as an indispensable addition to all research libraries.

*Exchanges.*—We receive in exchange for our *Journal* a very large number of valuable periodicals which are bound and kept in the Library for reference and study.

*Daly Memorial Hall.*—The Daly Memorial Hall and premises are maintained in good condition. The proposal to extend the building or put up a separate hall on the premises to accommodate the Library and the Reading Room has been yet far from being materialised.

*General.*—It is with great pleasure we congratulate our sister society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal which completed its one hundred and fiftieth year of existence and befittingly celebrated the occasion at Calcutta in January last.

We have also heartily to congratulate the following members of the Society who have been the recipients of honours during the year: Rajasevasakta Mr. S. Hiriannaiya; Mahamahopadhyaya Mr. R. Narasimhachar, the President of the meeting to-day; Rajamantrapravina Mr. S. P. Rajagopalachari; and Rajasevasakta Mr. R. Ranga Rao.

The Mythic Society has completed its first twenty-five years of existence and we are just concluding the Silver Jubilee celebrations so kindly inaugurated last week by the Dewan, Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail. It is our earnest hope that when the time for the celebration of the Golden Jubilee arrives, the Mythic Society will have quadrupled its activities in all directions, built up a huge Library which can stand comparison with any of its kind in the world and augmented its financial reserves to an extent contemplated by its founder.

In conclusion, we beg to express our deep gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, the Government of India and the Hon'ble the British Resident in Mysore for their continued sympathy and support.

* * *

*Photograph taken on November 20, 1934*

*Left to Right:*—B. G. Rajagopal Mudaliar. M. Venktesia (*Curator*). B. Puttaiya. P. Raghavendra Rao. A. M. Tangavelu Mudaliar. Chief Justice H. D. C. Reilly. Sir Mirza M. Ismail (*President, the Silver Jubilee Celebrations*). C. Hayavadana Rao. M. Shama Rao (*President, Mythic Society*). A. V. Ramanathan (*Joint Secretary*). S. P. Rajagopalachari. T. Singaravelu Mudaliar. S. Srikantaya (*General Secretary*).

The Report being duly adopted, the following office-bearers for the year 1934-35 were elected :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *President* | .. | Mr. M. Shama Rao. |
| *Vice-Presidents* | .. | Sir Mirza M. Ismail. |
| | | Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar. |
| | | Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao. |
| | | Mr. K. R. Srinivasiengar. |
| | | Mr. K. Chandy. |
| | | Mr. K. Matthan. |
| | | Mr. R. Narasimhachar. |
| | | Dr. E. P. Metcalfe. |
| *General Secretary and Treasurer* | .. | Mr. S. Srikantaya. |
| *Joint Secretary* | .. | Mr. A. V. Ramanathan. |
| *Editors* | .. | Mr. S. Srikantaya. |
| | | Mr. K. Devanathachariar. |
| *Branch Secretaries* : | | |
| For Ethnology | .. | Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao. |
| For History | .. | Rev. C. Browne. |
| For Folklore | .. | Mr. B. Puttaiya. |
| *Committee* | .. | The above *ex-officio* and |
| | | Dr. R. Shama Sastry. |
| | | Mr. N. S. Subba Rao. |
| | | Mr. A. R. Wadia. |
| | | Dr. M. H. Krishna. |
| | | Mr. S. Shamanna. |
| | | Dr. C. B. Rama Rao. |

* * *

The Chairman, Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, then delivered the following Address :—

## Chairman's Address

I have at the outset to express my grateful thanks to the Society for having done me the honour of asking me to preside on this occasion. Men of high position and eminent attainments have occupied the chair in the previous years. In spite

of my protest, the indomitable perseverance of the indefatigable Secretary of the Society, Mr. Srikantaya, has put me in this place of honour which I do not deserve.

The Secretary has read a very satisfactory Report and the President has treated us to an inspiring address. The Society has taken its place among the leading learned societies of the world and the name of the *Quarterly Journal*, which maintains a high standard, is known all over the world. The financial position of the Society is good. I congratulate the Society on its excellent record of work during the year under report.

Mysore offers a unique field for historical and archæological research. Its history extends over a period of more than 2,000 years beginning with the Mauryas. Its artistic wealth displayed in its ancient and mediæval buildings is remarkable. The Pranavesvara Temple at Talgunda is probably the oldest Dravidian temple in Mysore going back to the early centuries of the Christian era. The ornate temple at Nandi is of the eighth century. Belur, Halebid and Somanathpur possess exquisite specimens of Hoysala architecture. The material available for research is enough to engage the attention of our Society for many years. With your permission I shall go a little out of the way and make a few remarks on a subject which has not been, I think, adequately dealt with, namely,

### Expansion of Indian Culture Outside India

*Bactria.*—I shall begin with an inscription in India itself. This old inscription of about 150 B.C. is at Besnagar, a village in the Bhilsa district of Gwalior in Central India. It shows that at that period even Greeks had become 'Bhagavatas' and erected Garuda Pillars in front of Vishnu temples. This inscription mentions the Indo-Greek king of Bactria, Antialkidas (B.C. 175-135), whose ambassador Heliodorus erects a Garuda-dhvaja to a Vasudeva temple. The inscription which is in Prakrit reads :—

1 देवदेवस वासुदेवस गरुडध्वजे अयं
2 कारिते इअ हालियोदोरेण भाग

3 वतेन दियस पुत्रेण तखासिलाकेन
4 योनदूतेन आगतेन महाराजस
5 अंतलिकितस उपंता संकासरञो
6 कासीपुतस भागभद्रस त्रातारस.

Reduced into English it reads thus : "This Garuda-dhvaja of Vasudeva, the god of gods, was erected here by Heliodorus, a Bhagavata, the son of Dion, and an inhabitant of Takshasila, who came as Greek ambassador from Maharaja Antialkidas to king Kasiputra Bhagabhadra of Sankasya."

*Kabul.*—Hindu Shahia kings ruled in Kabul from 900 to 1013 A.D.

*Mesopotamia.*—Mitani and Kassites. In the German excavations at Boghaz-Kui were discovered some inscriptions containing the names of the Vedic gods, Mitra, Varuna, Indra and Nasatyas. The inscriptions are dated *c.* 1500 B.C. and record a treaty between the Hittite king and the Mitani king who was defeated in a battle. The above Mitani gods are invoked to protect the treaty. The Mitani had adopted the worship of the above Indian deities. To the same period belong the famous tablets from Tel-el-Amarna containing references to the Mitani in north-west Mesopotamia whose princes bear names like Artatama, Tusrata and Suttarna which are unmistakably Aryan. For 500 years from 1746 to 1180 B.C. the Kassites ruled over Babylonia and among these also the names of the princes and deities seem Aryan—Shuriyas (Surya), Maritas (Marutah), Simalia, queen of the snow-mountains (Himalaya). Iranian Zima is equal to Hima. Indian numerals, as also Indian gods, occur in ancient Hittite texts. These facts afford specific evidence of an Aryan dynasty ruling over Mesopotamia, and the prehistoric expansion of Indian civilization into it.

*Chinese Turkestan.*—Recent explorations by Dr. Stein show that Indian culture, Indian languages and Indian alphabets were established in Chinese Turkestan in very early times. Many Sanskrit works have been dug out of sand. One of them is the Bower manuscript, so named after Bower, an engineer,

who unearthed it, a medical work of about 350 A.D., which bears the name Navanitaka and quotes the ancient mediæval work of Charaka who was at the court of the Kushan king Kanishka.

*China.*—The Kushan empire formed a connecting link between China and India. Buddhist teachers of India visited China from about 67 A.D. to about 980 A.D. and translated numerous Sanskrit works into Chinese. To mention some visitors with dates :—Kasyapa or Kasyamatanga in 67 at the request of the Chinese emperor Ming-to ; 222 Dharmakala, 414 Dharmaraksha, 423 Buddhajiva of Kabul, 433 Sanghavarma, 548 Paramartha, 627 Prabhakaramitra, 655 Punyopaya, who takes to China 1,500 different texts of the Tripitaka belonging to the Mahayana and Hinayana schools, collected by him in India and Ceylon ; 676 Buddhapala, 719 Vajrabodhi and Amōghavajra, and 980 Danapala. To name a few translators with dates and works :—382 Dharmapriya, Dasasahasrika-Prajnaparamita ; 383 Kumarajiva, Sukhavativyuha and Vajrachchedika ; 404 Punyatara, Sarvastivadavinaya ; 481 Dharmajatayasas, Amritarthasutra ; 782 Prajna, Mahayana-Buddhishatparamitasutra. Asvaghosha's Buddhacharita was translated into Chinese in 415.

Chinese pilgrims also came to India, studied Sanskrit and took with them a large number of Buddhist works and translated them. Among them may be mentioned Fahian (about 400), Huen Tsang (630) and Itsing (about 675). Itsing says that 60 Chinese pilgrims had visited India before him. He stayed for some years at Sri-Bhoja, the capital of Sumatra and despatched 500 volumes of translations to his country.

*Tibet.*—The Sanskrit version of the Buddhist scriptures has in various translations prevailed in Tibet, Japan, Mongolia, Indo-China and the Islands of the Archipelago. There is a complete Tibetan translation in 100 volumes of Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures—called collectively Kagyur. There is also another collection known as Tandjur containing translations of other Sanskrit works such as Meghaduta, Nitisastra, Chandra-vyakarana, Katantra, Sarasvata, Amarakosa,

logical works, etc. In some cases the lost originals can be reconstructed from these translations.

*Indo-China.*—Indian religion, literature and art have spread out of India and produced deep and far-reaching influence on the countries of Further India. From the fourth to the seventh century there was a lively intercourse between India, Indo-China and the Islands of the Archipelago. There are many Sanskrit inscriptions in the two kingdoms of Champa (Annam) and Cambodia of Indo-China. Indian kings ruled there. The Champa State was founded in 137. The oldest Sanskrit inscription in the State, which is of the second century, is now preserved in the Hanoi Museum. Of the later records, three of Bhadravarma, who begins the line of historical rulers of Champa and his successors, may be noticed. One of them refers to a sacrifice instituted on behalf of Dharma-Maharaja Bhadravarma (about 350). The title Dharma-Maharaja was borne by some of the Pallava and Ganga kings. Bhadravarma erected the Bhadresvara temple and made a grant for it. Another states that the shrine was destroyed by a conflagration in the reign of Rudravarma, and that after his death his son Sambhuvarma re-built it under the name of Sambhubhadresvara in Saka 400. Another names several kings who succeeded Bhadravarma and who trace their origin to one Gangaraja. These records are at Mison which has twenty-five Sanskrit inscriptions in all. An inscription at Po Nagar of Satyavarma states that an ancient Siva temple had been burnt down and the Mukhalinga robbed by pirates in 774 and that he rebuilt the temple and set up Satyamukhalinga in 784. Another at Yang Tikuh of Indravarma tells a similar story, the invaders here being Javanese. The temple Bhadradhipatisvara in the valley of Phun-rang (Panduranga) was burnt down in 787 and rebuilt by the king under the name of Indrabhadresvara.

*Cambodia.*—Emigrants from Camboja settled in the fourth century in Cambodia. The capital of the State was known as Indupathapuri (Indraprasthapuri) and the State had several Hindu temples. The earliest Sanskrit inscription is in the temple of Bayang; it records the erection in 682 of a Sivapada

and the construction in 702 of a Tirtha. The kings of Champa and Cambodia had the suffix Varma added to their name like some of the Pallava and Ganga kings. Cambodia was annexed to Siam in the fourteenth century.

*Siam.*—The old capital of Siam was Sakotaya (Saketa) and the new one is Ayuthiya (Ayodhya). A hill in the state, still known as Khan Phrah Narai (Hill of Narayana) had a Vishnu temple referred to as Naranam in a Tamil inscription of the eighth century at Takopa in Siam. In Siam, religious books in Pali are known as Pasamakara (Bhasha-Magadha), and Pali as Bali.

*Burma.*—There is a Sanskrit inscription consisting of a stanza from the *Mukundamala* at Pagan in Burma. Beginning with *Nāsthā dharme*, the verse is the following :—

नास्था धर्मे न वसुनिचये नैव कामोपभोगे
यद्यद्भव्यं भवतु भगवन् पूर्वकर्मानुरूपम् ।
एतत्प्रार्थ्यं मम बहुमतं जन्मजन्मान्तरेऽपि
त्वत्पादांभोरुहयुगगता निश्चला भक्तिरस्तु ॥

—Kulaśekhara's *Mukundamālā.*

The characters are of about the twelfth century. The record bears evidence to the existence of a colony of Vaishnavas in Burma.

*Eastern Archipelago.*—The Brahmans carried, across the Eastern ocean, their culture to Borneo, Java and Sumatra.

*Borneo.*—In this island is to be noticed a very interesting fact. In the Mahomedan state of Koetei in East Borneo four inscribed pillars were unearthed at Mœara Kaman which were presented by the Sultan of Koetei to the Batavia Society and which are now preserved in the Batavia Museum. The inscriptions are Sanskrit records of King Mulavarma (about 400), son of Asvavarma and grandson of Kundunga; they call the pillars Yupas which they state were set up by Brahmans. This affords evidence of the establishment of Brahmanical culture there at such an early period. Along with the pillars were found a gold Vishnu image and a gold

tortoise, both in the possession of the Sultan, who wears the image round his neck on state occasions. Near Koetei are also some caves which contain a collection of Hindu images such as Ganesa, Vishnu, Brahma, Nandi, etc. The Brahmans must have gone there in about 400 in ships.

I give one of the inscriptions below :—

श्रीमतः श्रीनरेन्द्रस्य कुण्डुङ्गस्य महात्मनः ।
पुत्रोऽश्ववर्मा विख्यातो वंशकर्ता यथांशुमान् ॥
तस्य पुत्रा महात्मानः त्रयस्त्रय इवाग्नयः ।
तेषां त्रयाणां प्रवरः तपोबलदमान्वितः ॥
श्रीमूलवर्मा राजेन्द्रो यष्टा बहुसुवर्णकम् ।
तस्य यज्ञस्य यूपोऽयं द्विजेन्द्रैस्संप्रकल्पितः ॥

*Java.*—In old Javanese known as Kavi are found translations of the Ramayana, Mahabharata, Manava-Dharmasastra, Raghuvamsa, Kumarasambhava, etc. The language of Western Java has many Sanskrit words. A Sanskrit inscription here of king Purnavarma (about 500) is engraved in characters resembling the Pallava script. Vrittasanchaya, a treatise on prosody in old Javanese, is in the form of a poem embodying a romantic story. The work is of interest both as a specimen of old Javanese and as illustrating many metres of which some have apparently not been found in Indian literature. The Javanese poem Nagarakritagama (A.D. 1365) by Prapancha shows the Indian system of caste and the all-pervading influence of Hinduism and the Mahayanic Buddhism. Several of the Java kings lived and died as avowed adherents of both religions. The country was full of shrines and monasteries of the two faiths equally in the enjoyment of the state protection and patronage. The poem illustrates a wealth of Indian metres and overflows with words of Sanskrit origin. It is an imitation of an Indian model by the mediæval Javanese. The Buddhist temple Boro Budur in Java (eighth century) is a beautiful structure of great artistic merit. Chandi Mendut is a Hindu temple of about the same period in which the stories of Panchatantra such as the Tortoise and the Geese, the Crab and the Crow, etc., are illustrated in sculpture. These temples are the

work of Indian sculptors. Though under Mahomedan rule for several centuries, the Javanese revere the heroes of Indian epics. The list of Sanskrit loan words in the Tagala and Bisaya languages should also be of interest to the Indianist as evidence of the eastward spread of Indian civilization.

*Bali.*—The Kavi translations of the Ramayana, etc., mentioned above have been preserved by the Hindus who came as refugees from Java after the Mahomedan conquest and settled in the smaller island of Bali. The Manava-Dharmasastra is still used in Bali as a law-book. Since A.D. 1478 the entire population of Bali amounting to about one million profess Hindu religion, and the burning of widows among them is carried to an extent never known in continental India.

*Sumatra.*—We learn from the Chinese pilgrim Fahian that in Sumatra Sri-Bhoja was the capital of a Buddhist Hindu king in about 400. A copper-plate inscription of about 880 from Nalanda, issued by Devapala, the third king of the Pala line of Bengal, records the grant of certain villages for the upkeep of the monastery at Nalanda, for the education and comfort of ascetics, for medical aid, and for copying Dharmaratnas (religious books), at the instance of Balaputradeva, king of Suvarna-dvipa (Sumatra) and grandson of the king of Yavabhumi (Java), who had sent an ambassador for the purpose.

*Malaya.*—Malaya was colonised from the region round Adam's Bridge by Klings or Kalingas in the early centuries of the Christian era. Priests came subsequently and taught a new ritual in Sanskrit. It is interesting to note that Rama and Hanuman play an important part in the folklore of Malaya both among the Mahomedans and Buddhists. The next wave of Indian influence was from the North which brought the Nagari script and caused a revival of Sanskrit and Mahayana to replace Hinayana Buddhism.

*Lambok.*—The island of Lambok was conquered by the Balinese, the ruling race now being Brahmans from Bali. The Raja has the title of Anak Agong (son of heaven). Lambok has several remains and customs indicative of Hindu origin.

*Persia, Arabia, etc.*—The Panchatantra was translated into Pahlavi by the command of the Sassanian king of Persia Nushirvan (531-579). From this subsequent versions were made into almost all the languages of Asia Minor and Europe. Aryabhata was extolled by the Arabs under the name Arjabahr. The Siddhantas were known as Sindhends in Arabic. In the ninth century Charaka and Susruta were translated into Arabic. In the Latin translations of Avicenna (Ibn Sina), Rhazes (Al-Rasi) and Serapion (Ibn Serabi) Charaka is repeatedly mentioned. Arabic astronomical works based on Sanskrit works were translated into Latin and spread in Europe. The numerals originated by the Hindus were wrongly known as Arabic because the Europeans got them from their Saracen teachers. The Khaliphs of Baghdad invited Indian astronomers to their court. Alberuni, a Mahomedan Sanskrit scholar of the beginning of the eleventh century, who was at the court of Mahomed of Ghazni, has translated into Arabic the Yoga-sutras of Patanjali. He names Brahmagupta's work Ahargana arkand in Arabic.

*Mexico, etc.*—The deities unearthed in Mexico and in the Somali country in Africa which resemble those in Java are all of Hindu origin.

*Mecca.*—Tradition has it that Muktesvara, a Sarasvat Brahman, was the king of Mecca before the time of Mahomed (Cunningham's Report for 1862). He set up the Muktesvara-linga which is known as Makkesvara in the Bhavishya-purana. From it, it is said, is derived the name Mecca and the stone in the Caaba is the Linga.

From Arabian traditions we learn that when Ishmail assisted by his father Abraham, was engaged in rebuilding the Caaba, the angel Gabriel brought them a stone. According to one view this stone was one of the precious stones of Paradise which fell to the earth with Adam and was afterwards lost in the slime of the Deluge, until retrieved by Gabriel; and according to another, it was originally the guardian angel appointed to watch over Adam in Paradise but changed into a stone and ejected thence with him, at his fall as a punishment for

not having been more vigilant. Abraham received the stone from Gabriel with reverence and inserted it in a corner of the exterior wall of the Caaba. It is devoutly kissed by worshippers each time they make a circuit of the temple. The Caaba was an object of extraordinary veneration from the remotest antiquity among the people of the East and Mecca was a holy city many ages before the rise of Mahomedanism. The Caaba had several idols in it until Mahomed taking possession of it destroyed them.

In conclusion I have to express my thanks to Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao for his kind words of welcome. I have also to thank all those who have shown practical sympathy with the aims and objects of the Mythic Society, and I wish the Society a bright future and continued prosperity.

* * *

With a vote of thanks proposed by Rev. Father C. Browne to the Chair, the meeting terminated.

* * *

*Tuesday, 27th November 1934*

On the successful termination of the Silver Jubilee celebrations, there was a social gathering in the spacious hall of the Mythic Society and was very largely attended. A group photo was taken and a luncheon was given. Indian orchestra was in attendance, singing melodious tunes.

* * *

## Conclusion

The President and Council of the Mythic Society tender their most grateful thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore, His Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda and several institutions and distinguished individuals who have been pleased to send messages of congratulations and felicitations and gave donations for the Silver Jubilee Festivities.

Sir Hugh Daly after whom the habitat of the Society is named writes:—

"I am very much interested in the programme of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Mythic Society and wish

SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS, 1909—1934

*Photograph taken on November 27, 1934*

very much that it had been possible for me to avail myself of your kind invitation. I trust that you had most successful meetings. If the Society publishes an account of them, I have no doubt you will kindly send me a copy. With every good wish to yourself and to the Society."

The Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland writes:—

"I am further instructed to send you the very hearty good wishes of the President and Council of the Royal Asiatic Society and to hope that the celebrations fulfilled all your hopes and desires."

The following are a few extracts from other letters:—

"The valuable work that the Society is carrying on adds to the knowledge of the data of Indian history, languages and folklore."

* * *

"The Institution has a splendid record of work."

* * *

"I congratulate the Council and the members of the Society on the admirable work which they have carried out for the advancement of learning."

* * *

"Associated for nearly two decades with its work I want to convey my hearty congratulations on the Society's successful completion of twenty-five years of very useful work during which its activities embraced almost all branches of Indology."

* * *

"My warm congratulations on its excellent work."

* * *

"Society has been doing splendid work."

* * *

"The Society can very well be proud of the glorious record of the work done by it during the last twenty-five years."

* * *

"It is no small achievement in a place like Bangalore to have kept alive for so long a period as twenty-five years an

institution devoted to non-utilitarian subjects like ancient history, archæology and anthropology. I have very often wondered how with your limited resources you have been able to produce such a fine record of contribution to the history and thought on the ancient traditions and culture and social polity of this land. The Society has earned an honourable place for itself among learned bodies of the kind not only in India but also throughout the world. The Mythic Society is an object of pride for all South India in general and for Mysore in particular."

* * *

"The Society is doing so much to arouse the interest of the people in the folklore of the Land. In India this is a new vein in research. The success that has so far attended your labour is a guarantee of the achievement that awaits our excursions."

* * *

"I very much value the high-class work that is being done by the Society and heartily wish it a very useful and prosperous career in the service of humanity."

* * *

"We offer our hearty congratulations to the Mythic Society of Bangalore which celebrated its Silver Jubilee on the 20th November last. The Society has done excellent work during this period both in the way of bringing out some publications of lasting value and stimulating interest in the study of antiquarian subjects .... We have no doubt the Society richly deserves handsome praise for doing work of historic value in an unostentatious manner, thereby setting an example to other parts of the country."

## THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE

*Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1933–34*

| Receipts | Amount Rs. A. P. | Payments | Amount Rs. A. P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Opening Balance | 54 12 6 | 1. Establishment— | |
| 2. Subscription— | | Pay of Staff | 1,111 0 0 |
| Resident Members | 308 0 0 | Lighting | 161 4 0 |
| Moffussil Members | 302 2 0 | Bicycle | 16 2 0 |
| Life Members | 130 0 0 | Garden | 57 7 0 |
| 3. Grants— | | Premises | 51 0 0 |
| Government of Mysore | 1,500 0 0 | Furniture | 31 8 0 |
| Government of India | 300 0 0 | Electrical Accessories | 16 8 0 |
| 4. Interest and Dividend | 703 10 0 | 2. Journal— | |
| 5. Recoveries from Staff | 65 0 0 | Printing | 1,150 0 0 |
| 6. Sales | 9 10 0 | Postage | 294 9 6 |
| 7. Hall Charges | 44 0 0 | 3. Library— | |
| 8. Entertainment Fund | 111 0 0 | Books bought | 40 0 0 |
| 9. Jubilee Account | 53 0 0 | Newspapers | 49 15 0 |
| 10. Miscellaneous | 4 15 0 | Book Binding | 29 4 0 |
| | | Miscellaneous | 11 4 0 |
| | | 4. Advance to Staff | 100 0 0 |
| | | 5. Investment | 100 0 0 |
| | | 6. Expenditure on Special Functions | 177 11 0 |
| | | 7. Bank's Charges | 6 4 0 |
| | | 8. Stationery | 44 10 9 |
| | | 9. Miscellaneous | 108 0 0 |
| | | 10. Closing Balance | 29 10 3 |
| Total | 3,586 1 6 | Total | 3,586 1 6 |

Reserve Fund—

| | At Face Value. Rs. A. P. |
|---|---|
| 1. Mysore State Loan $6\frac{1}{4}$ % Stock | 9,850 0 0 |
| 2. Mysore State Loan $6\frac{1}{4}$ % Bonds | 200 0 0 |
| 3. Mysore State Loan 5 % Stock | 1,500 0 0 |
| 4. Mysore Bank Share (one) | 100 0 0 |
| 5. Mysore Bank Fixed Deposit | 100 0 0 |
| Total | 11,750 0 0 |

Details for Closing Balance—

| | Rs. A. P. |
|---|---|
| 1. In the Bank of Mysore | 17 6 6 |
| 2. With the Curator | 2 13 7 |
| With the Branch Secretaries | 9 6 2 |
| Total | 29 10 3 |

Certified correct.

T. M. S. Subramaniam,
*Hon. Auditor.*

S. Srikantaya,
*Secretary and Treasurer.*

# THE NAME OF THE GOD VIṢṆU AND THE KṚṢṆA-LEGEND

By Prof. Jean Przyluski

## I

The school of Max Müller, which gave a very vigorous impetus to Vedic studies, claimed to have identified the same gods in the different Indo-European mythologies; and, in order to prove this postulate, endeavours were made to demonstrate the recurrence of the names of gods.[1] This method did not yield all the results that its authors had expected. Equivalences like Ouranos=Varuṇa, which had at first been proposed, soon appeared to be open to question. The names of the majority of the Vedic gods—(that of Viṣṇu, for instance)—have no unequivocal counterparts in the other mythologies. Hence our attitude is necessarily quite different from that of a disciple of Max Müller. Since the name Viṣṇu stands isolated, we are not justified in presuming that this god ever belonged to the Indo-European group. The problem, therefore, is to find out how Viṣṇu came to be introduced into the Vedic mythology.

Some people might be tempted to answer the question by saying that Viṣṇu was a mythological creation of the Âryans themselves, because the name is Indo-Âryan, derived as it is from the root *viṣ* appearing in the *Dhâtupâṭha* with the meaning of *vyâpti*. But such a naive explanation could scarcely be satisfactory, since it is doubtful, as we shall see presently, whether the root *viṣ* would explain at the same time the name Viṣṇu and the other forms of this name.

## II

In a previous essay,[2] I tried to assign one of the aspects of Viṣṇu to a non-Âryan category. Śâtakarṇi, the name of the

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1 This article reproduces, with some additions, the text of an address delivered at Leyden before the eighteenth congress of Orientalists. (Translated from the French by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar.)

2 "Hippokoura et Satakarni," *JRAS*, 1929, p. 373 ff. [This paper was rendered into English by the present translator in *JAHRS*, 1930, Vol. IV, p. 49 ff.—Note by Tr.]

Ândhra kings, viewed as a compound of Austro-Asiatic origin, appears to mean "son of the Horse". The capital city of the Ândhras also bore the name of the divine Horse. It may be presumed that the Horse, the ancestor of the Ândhra kings and the eponym of their capital city, was a non-Âryan god consanguinous with the Śâtakarṇis. May the same be said of Viṣṇu, the god who has the head of a horse and of whom the horse is an *avatâr*? This is the question that I propose to examine here.

### III

Viṣṇu is worshipped in the Deccan, and particularly at Pandharpur, as Viṭhala, Viṭṭhala (PW, s.v. Viṭṭhala). In the Mahratta country, the god of Pandharpur is still called Viṭhû, Viṭhobâ. These two forms are related to Viṭha—, exactly as Kânhû and Kânhobâ are to Kânha<Kṛṣṇa (J. Bloch, *Langue Marathe*, index). We have thus a series of Sanskrit and Marâṭhi forms going back to a prototype *Viṭha-* | *Viṭhû.*

Vidhu is another name of Viṣṇu, according to the *Amarakośa.*

In the *Mahâparinibbâna-sutta* (*Dîgha-nik.*, II, p. 167) the Brahmin of Veṭhadîpa appears among the recipients of a share of the relics of Buddha. An inscriptional Viṣṇudwîpa corresponds to this place-name, whereby the equation Veṭha=Viṣṇu stands justified. On the other hand, we find in a Kannaḍa name an element Biṭṭâ° to which Viṣṇu corresponds (*JRAS*, 1907, pp. 1049-1051; *ib.*, 1908, p. 164; *IF*, xlv, p. 168).

It may be thought that Veṭha is a Pâli form of the name Viṣṇu, since it occurs in *Dîgha-nikâya*; but the regular equivalent of Viṣṇu in Pâli is Veṇhu issuing from an old †Veṣṇu.

If, for the sake of simplicity, we put aside the most divergent variants like Sanskrit Vidhu, Viṭṭhala and Kannaḍa Biṭṭa, there still remains a pretty large list :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Viṭha | Viṭhû | Veṭha |
| Viṣṇu | | †Veṣṇu |

In the presence of these forms we have to make our choice from among three attitudes: (*a*) to try to trace all of them to

an Indo-Âryan[3] prototype; (*b*) to connect some of them with an Indo-Âryan prototype and the others with a non-Âryan[4] type; (*c*) to postulate that all of them are of non-Âryan[5] origin. Let us examine the three possibilities, one after the other.

The most recent attempt to trace the forms of the name Viṣṇu to an Indo-Âryan prototype is that of Helmer Smith in MSL[6] of Paris. H. Smith does not consider all the forms cited by me; he recognizes nevertheless that he has not steered clear of all difficulties, particularly those offered by the vocalism. We agree that Viṣṇu was pronounced Viṣṭṇu, but how does the group *ṣṭṇ* develop into *ṭh*, *ṭṭ*, *ṭṭh* and *dh*? In fact, Viṣṭṇu is a late resultant. It is arbitrary to carry it so far back into the past as to make it yield a very old *veṭhadîpa*. Besides, even according to this hypothesis, the *e* of Veṭha and of Veṇhu remains unexplained.

The second hypothesis may be formulated thus:—Viṣṇu was originally an Âryan god; he was later confused with a non-Âryan deity bearing a similar name; and hence arose the

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3 This is actually the tendency of almost all Orientalists, as attested by the reception accorded to my views, when presented before the Leyden Congress; *cf.* Actes du XVIIIe Congress des Orientalistes, p. 154.

4 A similar view has already been expressed by Mr. S. K. Chatterji who suggests that "the Âryan Viṣṇu 'the Spreading One' as a name for the sun was combined with a Dravidian sky-god *viṇ*, *viṇṇu* to give the later Hindu notions of Sûryanârayaṇa". "Foundations of Hindu Culture" in Tijdschrift van het koninglyk Bataviaasch Genootschap, Vol. LXVIII, p. 82.

5 An attempt in this direction has already been made by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar (*Life in Ancient India in the Ag of the Mantras*, Madras, 1912, p. 126) who considered *Viṣṇu* to be an adaptation of the Dravidian word *viṇ* 'sky'. Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar who recalls this opinion in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, July 1931, p. 42, n. 3, adds that "no Indo-Âryanist would approve of Mr. Aiyangar's opinion."

6 Vol. XXIII, iv, p. 273. V. Pisani, "Ausläufer von altind. *ṣṇ*," *IF*, 1930, p. 226 ff. has recorded the transition of *Viṣṇu* to *Viṣṭṇu* in a Mysore Ms. W. Caland, *IF*, 1931, p. 32, confirms V. Pisani's observation by examining the name Viṣṇu in the works of the old missionaries.

diversity of the names and of the aspects of this personage. This opinion, like the preceding one, remains an unproved assertion. Viṣṇu is doubtless a Vedic god, but there is nothing to prove that he was originally Âryan or that his name was of Indo-European origin.

The third hypothesis allows us to explain all the facts,—not only the diversity of the forms but also their meanings. While recently analysing words like *patana*, *Varuṇa*,[7] I have marked off a suffix—*na* which is annexed to the non-Âryan roots *pata* and *baru*. We know, besides, that in the Indian languages, and even in the Vedic word-stock, the final vowel -*u* may replace -*a*.[8] A suffix -*na* may therefore appear as -*nu*. In fact, this suffix -*nu* appears already in the Ṛg-Veda and actually in a proper noun suspected to have been borrowed from a non-Āryan speech. Indeed, in Ṛg-Veda, I. 112 ; 21, IV, 27. 3 ; IX. 77. 2 ; X. 64. 8, Kṛśâṇu is the divine bowman who shoots his arrow against the celestial bird. Now, this myth which is not Indo-European, recurs in Mesopotamia and in the Far East, particularly in China and among the Maus of Tonkin.

If the suffix -*nu* is separated, there remains a radical *Viṣ* | *Veṣ* in Viṣṇu | Veṣṇu.

If we cut out the suffixal vowel -*a*, -*u* from the other variants, we have the following radicals:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Viṭh | Veṭh |
| Viṣ | Veṣ |

The alternation *i* | *e* is accounted for, if we start from a non-Âryan root with the vowel -*e*. Indeed, in Indo-Âryan borrowings, *e* could remain stable only in Middle Indo-Âryan, while in Sanskrit which lacks *e*, it was replaced by *i*. Let us note, as a confirmation of this view, that Veṭh and Veṣ are deduced from forms occurring in Pâli, *i.e.*, in a speech resting on Middle Indo-Âryan.

On the other side, the alternation of the cerebral stop and the sibilant is met with in Austro-Asiatic languages, and this

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7 "Varuṇa, god of the sea and the sky," *JRAS*, July 1931, p. 613 ff.

8 "Notes de dialectologie indienne," *BSL*, XXXI, 2, No. 93, pp. 47—50.

phenomenon is reflected in Indian words of non-Âryan origin. I have already recorded elsewhere *paṭa*, *karpaṭa* and *karpâsa*.[9] We also meet with the variants *kirâta*, *kirâṭa* and *kirâsa*; Viṭh | Viṣ* and Veṭh | Veṣ may be explained likewise.

The variations in the final consonant which appears severally as *ṭ*, *ṭṭ*, *ṭh*, *ṭṭh*, *dh*, *ṣ*, constitute in themselves an indication of foreign origin. While basically Âryan words generally show evolutionary changes within narrow limits, words of foreign origin undergo more capricious alterations. And this is precisely one of the signs pointing to their foreign origin.

The hypothesis of non-Âryan origin explains also how the same radical may have been used alike for the name of a place (Veṭhadîpa) and for that of a god. The Ândhra kings were called "Children of the Horse" because of their descent from the Horse-god, one of the *avatârs* of Viṣṇu. We see thus how among the peoples of the Deccan, Viṣṇu, the ancestral god, may have given his name to the kings and as a result to the kingdom.[10] Veṭhadîpa should therefore be the country of Veṭh(a), *i.e.*, of a race allied to Viṣṇu, the eponymic god.

This explanation may provide a starting point for onomastic researches which, I have reasons to believe, would prove fruitful, but which would take us very far.[11] Let us take an instance. It is known that *tamiḻ* is a name to which corresponds Sanskrit *drâviḍa*, attested in Manu and in the *Mahābhārata*. In the *Mahâvaṃsa Pâli*, we have *dâmilo*. Here a non-Âryan prefix *ta-*, *da-*, *dra-* should be marked off, what remains behind being a root *viḍ* | *miḻ* which probably is but an

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9 *BSL*, XXV, 1, No. 76, pp. 70–71.

* [The question whether Veṭh | Veṣ is fundamentally Austro-Asiatic or Dravidian has not been tackled here. Prof. Przyluski's perspectives aim only at pointing out that the name Viṣṇu very probably had a foreign origin. It is to be hoped that the onomastic researches of Prof. Przyluski will shed more light on the nature of the source-base. —Note by Tr.]

10 In the *Pâli Jâtaka*, the king often bears the name of his kingdom and his people; *cf.* Maru, Kaṃsa, etc.

11 I propose to examine this aspect of the question elsewhere.

imperfect notation of the unstable ethnic name Viṭh, with the alternation of *v* | *m* in the initial position.†

The foregoing discussion, relating as it does only to the linguistic aspects, has necessarily to be completed by the study of religious traditions. We shall see that an old legend bears an interpretation which confirms up to a certain point the results of our linguistic inquiry.

## IV

The *Ghatajâtaka* bearing the number 454 in the Pâli collections, narrates that Devagabbâ had ten children named Vâsudeva, Baladeva, Candadeva, Suriyadeva, Aggideva, Varuṇadeva, Ajjuna, Pajjuna, Ghata (the sage) and Aṃkura. Among these, at least seven are gods figuring in Indian mythology: they represent Kṛṣṇa, Bala, his brother, the gods of the Moon and the Sun, Agni, Varuṇa and Parjanya. Devagabbâ is a name appropriate to the mother of the gods. There is no doubt that we are here concerned with an old theogony.

The same text tells us that Vâsudeva and his brothers were the children of Andhakaveṇhu. In this mythic legend, the last-mentioned name is sufficiently clear. Andhakaveṇhu should mean Viṣṇu, the Ândhra. The fact is significant: it would go to prove that Viṣṇu and the Ândhras are of the same blood;‡ besides it appears that, according to the popular tradition, Vâsudeva and his nine brothers were described as the sons of Andhakaveṇhu,—a fact which tends to confirm our views about Viṣṇu being the ancestral god.[12]

It is true that the *Jâtaka* contradicts this relationship

†[This analysis of the word *tamiḻ* is altogether novel and unique. —Tr.]

‡ It is a very old Indian belief that gods and men have the same origin. *Cf*. *Ṛg-Veda*, VIII, 72, 8. On the value of the word *sajâtya* signifying 'racial oneness' between gods and men, *cf*. Bergaigne, *Religion Vedique*, I, p. 35.

[12] It may be noted that in Indian mythology Brahmâ, the supreme forefather, issues out of the lotus which itself emerges from the navel of Viṣṇu (*cf*. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, II, p. 2). As Bergaigne has shown (*Religion Vedique*, I, p. 35), an allusion to this myth already occurs in verse X, 82, 6 of the *Ṛg-Veda*.

at once. In the view of the Buddhist narrator, Andhakaveṇhu is a slave; according to him it is wrong to describe the ten brothers as his children, since their real father was Upasâgara. What is the origin of this fable? A theogony in which the ancestral god is called Viṣṇu, the Ândhra, could only have been of Dravidian origin.[13] Such an account was well calculated to shock the Indo-Âryans. How could they acknowledge that the Vedic gods were of the same race as the aboriginal Ândhras? Âryan pride could not have tolerated such claims. The Dravidian traditions, therefore, became transformed in the process of their incorporation in Buddhistic literature; the theogony became a mere legend. Since Vâsudeva and the other heroes could not have been born of an Ândhra father, Andhakaveṇhu became a slave; the tradition attributing to this latter the parentage of the ten brothers was introduced merely to be denied and rejected.

Nevertheless, the authenticity of this tradition is not to be doubted at all. In fact, the *Ghatajātaka* is a Pâli version of the legend of Kṛṣṇa. Other versions of this legend are met with in the *Harivamśa* and the *Bhâgavatapurâṇa*.[14] According to these Purâṇic sources, Kṛṣṇa is the son, not of Upasâgara, but of Vasudeva. Now, in the *Ghatajâtaka*, the eldest of the ten brothers is called Vâsudeva, *i.e.*, son of Vasudeva. Hence we are justified in postulating the existence of a more ancient version in which the father of Vâsudeva and of his brothers was Vasudeva as in the Purâṇic sources. Vâsudeva being a name of Viṣṇu, the comparison of the versions of the Kṛṣṇa legend leads us to the hypothesis that Viṣṇu, the ancestral god, called Andhakaveṇhu in Pâli, was indeed the father of the gods Vâsudeva, Bala, etc.

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[13] It may be noted, in addition, that Devagabbâ has relations with two personages: Upasâgara and Andhakaveṇhu. It would appear that this is a reminiscence of polyandry in mythical lore, and this feature further goes to confirm the non-Âryan origin of the account.

[14] *Cf. Bhâgavatapurâṇa*, translation of E. Burnouf, X, ch. 44; *Harivamśa*, trans. of Dutt, ch. 84—86. For the representations of the legend in Indo-China, *cf. Le Temple d'Îśwrapura*, vol. I of the Archæological Memoirs published by *EFEO*, pl. 23 and 24.

Other facts are also susceptible of an analogous interpretation. If Viṣṇu is the great forefather, the ancestor of gods and of men, if the name Drâviḍa itself bears witness to this genealogy, Viṣṇu may also have been an ethnic name designating Dravidian peoples. A comparison of the *Jâtaka* and of *Mahâbhârata* indirectly confirms this conjecture. The *Ghatajâtaka* narrates how the sons of Andhakaveṇhu, having gone for a walk along the sea-shore, started fighting with their hands and feet; this sport degenerated into a bloody riot leading to a great slaughter.[15] The account of these incidents has passed into the *Mahâbhârata*,[16] but we seek in vain therein for a mention of the sons of Andhakaveṇhu. We only note there that Kṛṣṇa and Balarâma lived among the Vṛṣṇis who were men of their race. Phonetically, Vṛṣṇi cannot be connected with Veṇhu. The ethnic name Vṛṣṇi was probably substituted for Viṣṇu which appeared far too noble. Here too, Āryan pride might have warped the traditions favourable to the aborigines.

This is how things may have happened:—After the first contacts between the Âryans and the indigenous inhabitants, a dual current of ideas led each race to adopt the gods of the other. Viṣṇu became an Âryan god and the Dravidians firmly believed that this god, was also the forefather of the Âryans. Later, when the Ândhras were sufficiently Âryanized, their epic legends were edited in Prakrit.[17] It is probably from this source that the Pâli *Jâtaka* and the *Purâṇas* including the *Mahâbhârata* drew the materials of these legends. The story of the fratricidal fight among the Andhakaveṇhuputta was borrowed by the Buddhist narrators, along with a theogony, from the epic legends of the Deccan. To the compiler of the *Mahâbhârata* who worked on the same theme, Andhakaveṇhu might have been an ethnic name, but the normal Sanskrit equivalent Andhaka-Viṣṇu was expressly avoided as a substitute for

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15 Two other *Jâtakas* allude to the same facts: Nos. 512 and 530.

16 It is at the beginning of Mausalaparvaṃ.

17 *Cf.* Garrez, *JA*, VIe series, XX.

Andhaka-Veṇhu. Now, from the time of Pâṇini, the barbarians of the south were called by a double name, Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi. The second term Vṛṣṇi is not only the name of a people; it also occurs as a noun signifying "battering ram", and as an adjective meaning "heretical, heterodox". What is the origin of the term Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi? Is it an incorrect Sanskritization of an original like Andhaka-Veṇhu? Is it a compound, normally constituted of two ethnic names? It is difficult to be sure on this point. What we may say now is that Andhaka suggested Vṛṣṇi, the two names being associated from an early period in the Brahminic tradition. This is why the author of the *Mahâbhârata* narrates the destruction, not of the Andhaka-Veṇhuputta, but of the Vṛṣṇis. In any case, since the Pâli *Jâtaka* has Veṇhu in three versions, the original legend doubtless contained the name Viṣṇu. The *Mahâbhârata* is divergent: Vṛṣṇi was perhaps only a play upon words, arising from the wish to humiliate the indigenous inhabitants.

The enigmatic term Ândhrabhṛtya may also be cited here as belonging to the same order of ideas. This compound which appears to mean "servant of the Ândhras" but really designates a dynasty descended from the Ândhra stock,[18] is probably a depreciative play upon words. Ândhra being the name of a people, it is incomprehensible why a dynasty should have taken a title which proclaimed its inferiority to the people to which it belonged. Some of the Śâtakarṇi kings perhaps assumed originally the title *bhaṭṭa* which, as we know, came to have a great importance in mediæval onomastics. Âryan pride was opposed to the use of the term; *bhaṭṭa* was changed to *bhṛtya* which indeed gave an absurd meaning but clearly marked off the inferiority of the indigenous inhabitants.

## V

Before concluding, it is necessary to examine an inevitable objection. The Kṛṣṇa-legend is localized in the region

[18] *Cf.* V. S. Sukthankar, "Home of the so-called Ândhrabhṛtyas," *ABI*, I, p. 21; La Vallèe Poussin, "L'Inde au temps des Maurya," p. 218.

of Mathura; is it permissible to transfer its origin to the Dravidians? Here, it is important to make a distinction: all the elements of the Kṛṣṇa-epic do not originate from the same source. The theogony which ascribes the parentage of the gods to Viṣṇu, the supreme ancestor, is a very ancient element and probably Dravidian; but the Kṛṣṇa-legend is not necessarily from the same source. Several ethnic elements existed in Mathura,—a fact which would explain the fusion of the Viṣṇu-myth and the Kṛṣṇa-legend in this region. Diverse indications point to the Dravidian *substrat* having made itself felt in Mathura for a long time. The inquiry into these would find a place in my onomastic researches referred to above.[19]

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[19] In the lists of the kings of the Kannaḍa country, compiled by M. L. de La Vallèe Poussin, "Dynastics et Histoire de l'Inde depuis Kaniṣka juskë aux invasions musulmanes", Part II, Chapter V, in the Press, the fourth king of the Hoysala dynasty is known by the names Biṭṭadeva, Biṭṭideva, Biṭṭiga, Viṭṭhala and by the surnames Viṣṇuvardhana and Tribhuvanamalla. Biṭṭa, Biṭṭi, Viṭṭhala are forms of the name Viṣṇu. On the other hand, the sixth sovereign of the Kâkatîya dynasty is the consort of the chieftain 'Beta' of the Kota family. It is probable that Beta represents another form of the same name with the vowel *-e*. The first Kâkatîya king is Betnarâja Tribhuvanamalla. This king has the same surname as Biṭṭadeva, and it may be admitted that Biṭṭa=Beta=Betna. The importance of the last-mentioned form arises from the fact that it shows the root *Bet* followed by the suffix *-na* already recognized (with the vowel *-u*) in Viṣṇu.

# SANSKRIT AND PRĀKṚT POETESSES

By V. Raghavan, B.A. (Hons.)

Amidst the glorious galaxy of figures that adorn the niches and facades of the ancient temple of Bhārata Mātā may be seen many beauteous reliefs of women who had distinguished themselves in every field of intellectual activity; and as one turns round to the poets' *prākāra*, there opens upon him the grand sight of many fair votaries of the Muse, shining by the side of Kālidāsa, Śūdraka and Bhavabhūti. To a description of these ancestors of Toru and Sarojini is this short paper devoted.

There are many poetesses like the Tamil Auvayār[1] who have enriched the literature of the vernaculars; but this article treats not of them but only of the poetesses of India, of poetesses of a language that was the *lingua franca* of the cultured of the whole country and was one of the most potent factors of fundamental national unity—Samskṛta, 'the polished',—Deva bhāṣā, 'the language of the Gods'.

In the rich chorus of hymns sung at the dawn of time in this land, many a strain strikes our ears in the shrill notes of women who were no less 'Seers' than their fathers or husbands.[2] *Ghoṣā*, the grand-daughter of Ṛṣi Dīrghatamas and daughter of Kakṣivat, was a leper and could not get a husband. The Aśvins healed her and she was then married. She thereupon sang of the Aśvins. *Godhā*, the second Vedic poetess, has to her credit a verse and a half praising Indra. *Viśvavārā*, a poetess born in a family of seers, has herself

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[1] For an account of Tamil poetesses, see M. M. U. V. Swaminatha Ayyar's Madras University Lectures, 1929, "Tamil of the Sangam Age and Later Times".

[2] The following paragraph on the Vedic poetesses is added here only to give a completeness to the account, there being already available in the *Asutosh Mukerji Memorial Volume* a detailed account of the early (Vedic) Indian poetesses by Prof. Harancandar Chakladar.

'seen' six verses. She was a married woman and one of her verses is a prayer to Agni for her marital happiness. The life of the fourth poetess, *Apālā*, resembles that of Ghoṣā. She was suffering from skin-disease on account of which her husband dismissed her from his house. In the verses attributed to her we see her forcefully praying to Indra for the removal of her disease. *Agastya's sister* is the fifth poetess and she has sung only one verse. Agastya's wife, *Lopāmudrā*, attracts our attention for having sung of Rati, requesting her austere husband to join her in love. *Romaśā*, daughter of Bṛhaspati, has given us a single sensuous verse on the burst of youthful charms on her own body addressed to her royal husband who was complaining of her immaturity. Of the Vedic poetesses *Śāśvatī* is the most heroic, woman *par excellence*; she made *tapas* for her husband's freedom and sang on the joy of re-union with him.

There is a continuity in the tradition of women scholars and women *litterateurs*. The *Kāma Sūtra* of Sage Vātsyāyana bears evidence to the all-round culture of ancient women. The sage mentions (I. iii. 12) courtezans, princesses, and daughters of ministers who had attained great proficiency in the Śāstras.[3] The courtezans especially, as we see in the

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[3] सन्त्यपि खलु शास्त्रप्रहतबुद्धयो गणिकाः राजपुत्र्यो महामात्यदुहितरश्च ।

—*Kāma Sūtra*, I. 3. 12.

Rājaśekhara (A.D. 880–920) says in his *Kāvya Mīmāmsā*:

"पुरुषवत् योषितोऽपि कवी भवेयुः । संस्कारो ह्यात्मनि समवैति, न स्त्रैणं पौरुषं वा विभागमपेक्षते । श्रूयन्ते दृश्यन्ते च राजपुत्र्यो महामात्यदुहितरो गणिकाः कौतुकिभार्याश्च **शास्त्रप्रहतबुद्धयः कवयश्च** ।" *K.M.*, p. 53.

There was a Kāśakṛtsnī who wrote a treatise on the Mīmāmsā Śāstra. Among the Hindu works on medicine translated into the Arabic in the eighth century A.D. was a book on midwifery written by a lady doctor, whose name appears as Rūsā in the Arabic garb. (*Vide* pp. 226 and 237, Dr. A. S. Altekar's *Education in Ancient India*.)

Dr. Altekar mentions also some Buddhistic Authoresses (p. 227). Among the authoresses of the Therīgāthā, who were believed to have attained salvation, thirty-two were unmarried women and eighteen married ones. Among the former, Śubhā, Anupamā and Sumedhā

practice of the Sanskrit Drama and in the theory of such an early dramaturgic treatise as Sage Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*, were well versed in Sanskrit, the language they spoke. The princesses, their friends, the daughters of the Brahmin ministers and the daughters of nobles must have been masters of all the sixty-four Kalās or Arts in which are included music, dance and poetry. The tradition of the sixty-four Kalās going far back into history proves that literary accomplishments in women were no wonder in those days. In the classic period of Sanskrit poetry we actually come across numerous women votaries of belles-lettres. But all the earlier poetesses are known to us only by names and through some stray verses of theirs preserved in some anthologies to which we owe a deep debt of gratitude for having preserved to us the names and verses of great poets whose works time and neglect have swept away into oblivion. We owe our knowledge of all of our early classic Sanskrit poetesses to the Palgraves—Śārṅgadhara, poet and compiler of the anthology *Śārṅgadhara Paddhati*; Vallabhadeva, compiler of the *Subhāṣitāvali*; Jalhaṇa, compiler of the *Sūktimuktāvali*, and many others. As one turns over the pages of these anthologies, goes through the classified subjects and the number and variety of verses that poets of different times and varying capacities have written, one does not see time passing. Now there is a verse, simple and grand, from the epic of the Ādi Kavi; now a delicate delineation of a love mood from the pen of the Kavisārvabhauma (Emperor of Poets), Kālidāsa; and now, here and there, at long intervals, gleam before our eyes names such as Vijjikā, Śīlābhaṭṭārikā, Vikaṭanitambā, and others,—our poetesses. The anthologies are, however, not completely reliable, for in many instances verses attributed to poetesses

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belonged to very rich families and are said to have been wooed by princes and rich merchants.

Among mystic poetesses who have enriched religious poetry of the vernaculars may be mentioned Mīra Bai (North India) and Āṇḍāḷ (Vaiṣṇavite) and Kāraikkāḷ Ammayār (Śaivite) of South Tamil India.

are found in such works as the *Amaru Śataka.* But even though particular cases of ascription may be wrong we have the assured fact that those poetesses existed ; and the works like the *Amaru Śataka* themselves, though originally the production of one author laterly assembled into themselves many verses of other authors thus becoming more and more anthological in nature. Another source of information besides the above-mentioned anthologies is poet Rājaśekhara's eulogic verses on the poets and writers that preceded him, which are preserved in Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvali*[4] and which form part of the opening canto of the now-lost epic of Rājaśekhara called *Haravilāsa.* Some of these eulogic verses are on poetesses like Vijjikā, Vikaṭanitambā and others.

*Vijjikā.*—This poetess must be taken to be the greatest in her class. To her are attributed seven verses in the *Subhāṣitāvali.* Her verses are found in all the other anthologies and are quoted in standard works on poetics also. The verses show all the qualities of a master of the classic Sanskrit diction. One verse especially, on the songs of the corn-threshing damsels shows this quality.[5] The lines rise and fall to the rhythm of their pestles and a fine sound effect creates the sense of the jingling bracelets and the gamaka-graces in their songs created by the long breathings (**S.P.*, p. 94). The variety of subjects found in her verses shows that she must have written many kāvyas. In one of her verses (*S.P.*, 3746), she speaks of the moments with her lover and swears that when her lover stretches his hand she forgets everything.[6] There is a description of the

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[4] MS. in the Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library.

[5] विलासमसृणोल्लसन्मुसललोलदोःकन्दली-
परस्परपरिस्खलद्वलयनिःस्वनोद्बन्धुराः ।
लसन्ति कलहुंकृतिप्रसभकम्पितोरस्स्थल-
त्रुटद्गमकसंकुलाः कमलकण्डनीगीतयः ॥

* *S.P.* : *Śārṅgadhara Paddhati.*

[6] धन्यासि या कथयसि प्रियसंगमेऽपि
नर्मोक्तिचाटुकशतानि रतान्तरेषु ।

face of a lady and another, on a vile family woman. There is one verse on Spring and two on the rains.

"The stamen in the heart of the *kimśuka* flower, vying in beauty with the Crescent Moon looks like the wax-sealed bow of Cupid, covered with a red sheath." (*S.P.*, 3900.)[7]

"The quarters are dusty with clouds having the hue of the smoke of dull fire; the earth is green with thick grass, the shoots of which have newly sprouted up; certainly the time beautiful for enjoyment has come, the time in which the separated have no other refuge but death." (*S.P.*, 3867.)[8]

In a mood of poignant suffering she thus addresses her friend in a verse which shows her mature powers of expression:

"Cruel Fate clutches the heart, lumps it violently like clay, places it on the Wheel of Care, beats it with the Striker of adversity, and like an experienced potter sends it into whirls; O, dear friend, what it will do we know not!"[9]

The following of hers is a fine portrayal of a woman in separation bewailing the loss of love in her lover:

"When the tie of love is broken, when the regard in the heart has slipped, when goodness is no more, when the man

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नीवीं प्रति प्रणिहिते तु करे प्रियेण
सख्यः शपामि यदि किञ्चिदपि स्मरामि ॥

[7] किंशुककलिकान्तर्गतमिन्दुकलास्पर्धिकेसरं भाति ।
रक्तनिचोलिकपिहितं धनुरिव जतुमुद्रितं वितनोः ॥

[8] मलिनहुतभुक्श्यामैः दिशो मलिना घनैः
अविरलतृणैश्छन्ना भूमिः नवोद्गमकन्दलैः ।
सुरतसुभगो नूनं कालः स एव समागतः
मरणशरणा यस्मिन्नेते भवन्ति वियोगिनः ॥

[9] प्रियसखि विपद्दण्डप्रान्तप्रपातपरम्परा-
परिचयचले चिन्ताचक्रे निधाय विधिः खलः ।
मृदमिव बलात् पिण्डीकृत्य प्रगल्भकुलालवत्
भ्रमयति मनो, नो जानीमः, किमत्र विधास्यति ॥

goes before me dull as a dunce,—thinking now in such and such a manner of those by-gone days, O, my dear friend, I know not why my heart does not break into pieces." (†*Su.*, p. 191.)[10]

In another small verse Vijjikā pays her respect to the *rasikas*, the connoisseurs of poetry, who express their keen delight by still contemplation and a body horripilated at the beauty of the poet's idea which lies not in the words themselves but flashes forth from about the beautiful words. (*Su.*, p. 15.)[11]

There is one more verse of hers which is important, being personal. Poet Daṇḍin describes the goddess of learning Sarasvatī as all-white in the opening verse of his *Kāvyādarśa* ;[12] with reference to that Vijjikā says:

"Not knowing that I, Vijjikā, am dark like the blue lotus, Daṇḍin has vainly said that Sarasvatī is all-white." (*S.P.*, p. 29.)[13]

We come to know from this that Vijjikā was swarthy in complexion and a poetess of such established reputation as to speak of herself as identical with Sarasvatī. The anthology, *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa refers to this poetess as Vidyā. This name may denote the greatness of her literary attainments and may be the Sanskritization of the Prākṛta name Vijjikā. Some scholars identify this Vijjikā as the wife

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† *Su. : Subhāṣitāvali.*

10 गते प्रेमाबन्धे, हृदयबहुमानेऽपि गलिते,
निवृत्ते सद्भावे, जड इव जने गच्छति पुरः ।
तथा चैवोत्प्रेक्ष्य प्रियसखि गतांस्तांश्च दिवसान्
न जाने को हेतुः दलति शतधा यन्न हृदयम् ॥

11 कवेरभिप्रायमशब्दगोचरं स्फुरन्तमार्द्रेषु पदेषु केवलम् ।
वहद्भिरङ्गैः कृतरोमविक्रियैः जनस्य तूष्णींभवतोऽयमञ्जलिः ॥

12 चतुर्मुखमुखाम्भोजवनहंसवधूर्मम ।
मानसे रमतां नित्यं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥ *K. Ā.*, I. 1.

13 नीलोत्पलदलश्यामां विज्जिकां मामजानता ।
वृथैव दण्डिना प्रोक्ता सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥

of Candrâditya and daughter-in-law of Pulakeśin II who flourished about A.D. 659.[14]

There is a drama with a conjectured title, *Kaumudī-mahotsava*, published in Madras,[15] common-place in style and plot and imitative of Kālidāsa in imagery and conceits. The name of the author is missing except for the last two letters making the name from which clue the editors have suggested Vijjikā as the author of the drama. Mr. K. P. Jayswal[16] wants the authoress of this drama to be taken as a Kiśorikā, a poetess of whom nothing is known. The editors of this drama have also added that there is as much evidence to take the author of the play as a male named Nīlakaṇṭha.

*Vijayāṅkā.*—This poetess is praised by Rājaśekhara that after Kālidāsa she was the abode of the Vaidarbhī style, the best diction in Sanskrit poetry.[17] From this verse of Rājaśekhara on her we also know that she was very learned and belonged to the Karṇāṭa country. She is described as the very Sarasvatī of the Karṇāṭadeśa. There is one stray verse of hers preserved to us. It breathes the self-consciousness of a great poetess.[18] She deserves the praise given by Rājaśekhara, for she says:

"One was born of the lotus, another on the beach, and a third of the anthill; these (Brahman, Vyāsa and Vālmīki) are great poets and to these I pay my homage. But if some later men should try to please us with prose and verse

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14 *Vide* p. xli, Mr. P. V. Kane's *Introduction to the Sāhitya-darpaṇa.*

15 Dakṣiṇa Bhāratī Series. Editors : Messrs. M. Ramakrishnakavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastry.

16 In an article on the drama "Kaumudīmahotsava" in the *J.B.O.R.S.*

17 सरस्वतीव कार्णाटी विजयाङ्का जयत्यसौ ।
या वैदर्भगिरां वासः कालिदासादनन्तरम् ॥

18 एकोऽभून्नलिनात्, ततश्च पुलिनात्, वल्मीकतश्चापरः
ते सर्वे कवयो भवन्ति गुरवः, तेभ्यो नमस्कुर्महे ।
अर्वाञ्चो यदि गद्यपद्यरचनैः चेतश्चमत्कुर्वते
तेषां मूर्ध्नि ददामि वामचरणं कर्णाटराजप्रिया ॥

compositions, well, I, the beloved of the king of the Karṇāṭaka, place my left leg on their heads."

It is likely she was the queen of some Karṇāṭaka king and some scholars think that this Vijayāṅkā is identical with Vijjikā. King Bhoja of Dhārā says in his *Sṛṅgāraprakāśa* that there are men who speak incorrect Sanskrit and women like Vijayāṅkā who are masters of poetic Sanskrit style and he quotes here Rājaśekhara's verse on this poetess.[19]

*Vikaṭanitambā.*—The name must have been given to this poetess for the happy use of the words 'vikaṭanitambā' in some verse of hers. Such names are very common in Sanskrit literature.[20] Of her Rājaśekhara says:

"Who that has been treated with the verses of Vikaṭanitambā will not abuse even the sweet honey of the words of one's sweetheart?"[21]

This verse is cited as an illustration for a widow-heroine by Bhoja in his *Sṛṅgāraprakāśa*[22] but the full implication of this citation is not clear.

There are six verses of hers preserved in the *Subhāṣitāvali.* One of the verses attributed to her in the *Śārṅgadhara Paddhati* mentions also the name of one Govindaswāmin as its joint author of whom nothing is known. The verse is a dialogue between a man and a woman going to tryst:

"Where have you started in this dense night, O damsel? To where lives the lord of my life, my heart's dear. Young lady, tell me, are you not afraid in going alone? Well, there

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[19] *Śṛ. Pra.* Madras Govt. Oriental Library MS., Vol. I, Chap. II, p. 85. Bhoja points out that there were males who talked incorrect Sanskrit like यवीणः, तवीणः and women there were masters of the language.

"योषिदपि कदाचित् आश्रितप्रागल्भ्यात् पुंवत् वक्ति । यथोच्यते, सरस्वतीव कार्णाटी, etc."

[20] *Cf.* Bhavabhūti, Nidrādaridra, Akālajalada, Ratnakheṭa, etc,

[21] के वैकटनितम्बानां गिरां गुंफेन रञ्जिताः ।
निन्दन्ति निजकान्तानां न मौग्ध्यमधुरं वचः ॥

[22] Mad. MS. *Śṛ. Pra.*, Vol. III, p. 372.

is an aid to me, Cupid with his feathered arrows." (*S.P.*, 3610).[23]

Two of her verses are flat, utterly lacking in delicacy. Perhaps the missing verse that gave her the name Vikaṭanitambā is also as bad. The following is a hyperbole of hers on the waist of a nimble lady:

"O, O, Thou that art rash and heedless in thine action! Why do you move about? You may break atwain by the weight of your breast." (*Su.*, p. 261.)[24]

There is another coarse verse of hers praising a king comparing the king's enemy's armies to a newly wedded wife!

We also get a glimpse into Vikaṭanitambā's married life from a verse quoted by Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and by Namisādhu in his gloss on Rudraṭa's work on Poetics. The verse is said to be the utterance of the maid of Vikaṭanitambā and describes the pathetic ignorance of the unlettered husband of a lady who is a poetess. The maid thus bemoans the lot of poor Vikaṭanitambā:

"He (the poetess's husband) says māṣa for month and māsa for the corn; he pronounces śakāśa for sakāśa; he will drop *ra* or *ṣa* in uṣṭra; to such a man has Vikaṭanitambā been given."[25]

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[23] क्व प्रस्थितासि करभोरु घने निशीथे
प्राणाधिपो वसति यत्र मनःप्रियो मे ।
एकाकिनी वद कथं न बिभेषि बाले
नन्वस्ति पुंखितशरो मदनस्सहायः ॥

[24] अय्ययि साहसकारिणि किं तव चङ्क्रमणेन ।
टसदिति भंगमवाप्स्यसि कुचयुगभारभरेण ॥

[25] Bhoja's *Śṛ. Pra.*, Vol. IV, p. 562. The first line differs from that given by Namisādhu—

पृष्टः काले वदति सबाष्पं (माषं) तद्विपरीतं सस्यहिरण्ये ।
लुम्पति चोष्ट्रे रं वा षं वा तस्मै दत्ता विकटनितम्बा ॥

Namisādhu on Rudraṭa's *K. A.*, p. 73. "यथा विकटनितम्बायाः पतिमनुकुर्वाणा सखी प्राह —

'काले माषं सस्ये मासं वदति शकाशं यश्च सकाशम् ।
उष्ट्रे लुम्पति रं वा षं वा तस्मै दत्ता विकटनितम्बा ॥'

*Morikā.*—The *Subhāṣitāvali* gives us four verses of this poetess. Morikā is a delicate painter of the feelings of the love-stricken heart of women. It is a relief to read her verses after those of Vikaṭanitambā. See the following plea of hers against the money-mad merchants heartlessly going away for trade from their wives and homes. A merchant says :

"How can even the idea of going away find place in my heart? Is it possible for me to speak out the idea heartlessly before my wife, dear to me as my very life? And I have spoken; but even after seeing my love's face heavy with tear-shower, alas! we men go on our journeys avaricious of some trifling wealth." (*Su.*, p. 175.)[26]

Another verse of hers depicts the cleverness of a dūti, the maid-friend and messenger, who by her adeptness brings round even the angry lover:

"O you spotless man, you love her most and you deserve her; she loves you most and deserves you; the Moon does not look well without Night and Night herself shines not without the Moon."

*Śīlābhaṭṭārikā.*—This poetess is known through four verses of hers seen in the *Subhāṣitāvali*. She must have been a well-known poetess for long, for speaking of poetesses, Dhanadeva mentions her along with three others, Vijjikā, Morikā and Mārulā. (*Su.* p. 16.)[27] The word 'bhaṭṭārikā' is an honorific suffix and speaks of her social status and cultural attainments. Rājaśekhara compliments her as commanding the Pāñcālī style along with the great poet Bāṇa.[28] The

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[26] यामीत्यध्यवसाय एव हृदये बध्नातु नामास्पदं
वक्तुं प्राणसमा समक्षमघृणेनेत्थं कथं पार्यते ।
उक्तं नाम, तथापि निर्भरगलद्बाष्पं प्रियाया मुखं
दृष्ट्वापि प्रवसन्त्यहो धनलवप्राप्तिस्पृहा मादृशाः ॥

[27] शीला–विज्जा–मारुला–मोरिकाद्याः काव्यं कर्तुं सन्तु विज्ञाः स्त्रियोऽपि ।
विद्यां वेत्तुं वादिनो निर्विजेतुं दातुं वक्तुं यः प्रवीणः स वन्द्यः ॥

[28] शब्दार्थयोस्समो गुम्फः पाञ्चाली रीतिरुच्यते ।
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥

Pāñcālī is the style in which the poet pays equal attention to the idea and its expression. One of Śīlā's verses is a talk between a lady and her maid whom she had sent to fetch her lover. The maid returns with her body in a state that proclaims her guilt. The lady accosts her and the maid tries to give excuses but is finally caught:

"Why this heaving? I came quickly. How is it that you have horripilation? He (your lover) has shown favour. Your braided hair is loose and fallen? Because of prostrations at his feet. And your cloth? By the coming and going. Your face is sweating? Yes, because of the sun. And it is tired, how? Through talking with him too much. Well, my girl, what will you now say for this lip of yours jaded like the faded lotus petal?" (*S.P.*, p. 515.)[29]

Another verse of hers speaks of a woman's pang of separation. A clever maid thus requests the lover to take pity on the suffering woman and to come to her.

"Cruel Cupid reduces the body; the heartless God of Death is numbering the days; and you are in the clasps of the fever of prestige; O Lord, think; how can a sprout-soft woman live in such a plight?" (*S.P.*, p. 528.)[30]

*Śītā.*—Vāgbhaṭa, a writer on poetics, refers to in his work, *Kāvyānuśāsana*, a poetess named Śītā, and quotes a love-verse of hers (p. 20, Kāvyamālā Edn.).[31] Perhaps this Śītā is identical with the above-described Śīlā.

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[29] श्वासः किं ? त्वरितागता ; पुलकिता कस्मात् ? प्रसादः कृतः ;
स्रस्ता वेण्यपि ? पादयोः निपतनात् ; नीवी च ? गत्वाऽऽगमात् ।
स्वेदार्द्रं मुखम् ? आतपेन ; मलिनं क्षामं किमिति ? उक्तिभिः ;
दूति म्लानसरोरुहाकृतिधरस्यौष्ठस्य किं वक्ष्यसि ? ॥

[30] विरहविषमः कामो वामः करोति तनुं तनुं
दिवसगणनादक्षश्चायं व्यपेतघृणो यमः ।
त्वमपि वशगो मानव्याधेः विचिन्तय नाथ हे
किसलयमृदुः जीवेदेवं कथं प्रमदाजनः ॥

[31] P. 20 शीताया यथा—
मा भैः शशाङ्क मम शीधुनि नास्ति राहुः
खे रोहिणी वसति, कातर किं बभाषे ।

*Phalguhastinī.*—Two verses of this poetess are found in the *Subhāṣitāvali.* The first is a description of the Crescent Moon:

"A flower in the creepers of the matted locks of Śiva; the bow of Cupid; the sprout of a planet; the nail-print on the hip of the lady, Sandhyā; a horn of the sky to scoop out darkness; a line of smile on the face of Night—may this first-day moon rise for your happiness."[32]

A bit of this verse 'a horn of the sky, etc.,' is quoted by Vāmana, poet, rhetorician and grammarian, in his work on poetics.[33] This Vāmana was the minister of King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir, eighth century. Thus this poetess Phalguhastinī is earlier to the eighth century.

The other verse of hers bemoans the irremediable wretchedness of fate:

"He creates an ocean of virtues, a gem among men, an adornment to the whole world; and then if He should make it so momentary, O, O, this terrible folly of the creator!"

*Indulēkhā.*—In the *Subhāṣitāvali* we come across the name of this poetess only once. The one verse found over her name is a conceit describing the sunset and the suffering in the hearts of the separated lovers as night approaches.

*Mārulā.*—This poetess is also known to us only through a single verse of hers in the *Subhāṣitāvali.* Even this single verse reveals to us Mārulā's poetic powers and her understanding of the lovers' hearts. She has portrayed to us the sin of a wayward lover, the consequent love-strife, and the ineffective anger of the innocent young lady. The lover, after a long

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प्रायो विदग्धवनितानवसंगमेषु
पुंसां मनः प्रचलतीति किमत्र चित्रम् ॥

[32] त्रिणयनजटावल्लीपुष्पं निशावदनस्मितं
ग्रहकिसलयं सन्ध्यानारीनितंबनखक्षतम् ।
तिमिरभिदुरं व्योम्नः शृङ्गं मनोभवकार्मुकं
प्रतिपदि नवस्येन्दोः बिम्बं सुखोदयमस्तु वः ॥

[33] Vāmana's *K. A. S.* and *Vṛ.*, p. 171. Vāṇī Vilâs Edn.

time, comes to the angry lady who puts him off for a time but finally love overcomes her anger. The following is the dialogue between the two.

"How is it you are so thin? Well, my body is so by nature. Why is your body soiled? By attending to cooking in my elders' house. Do you remember me? No, no —so saying she began to tremble, fell on my chest and cried." (*Subhāṣitāvali*, p. 221.)[34]

*Subhadrā.*—Rājaśekhara praises this poetess that she has taken a permanent abode in the hearts of lovers of poetry by the beauty of her poetry.[35] The *Subhāṣitāvali* preserves one verse of hers which describes through metaphor how it is the good that suffer most in this world. She thus pities milk:

"It was milched and boiled; its sweetness was taken out, churned out forcibly; and for the sake of ghee it was made into butter; and for all these tortures it is the milk's own *sneha* (fat and friendship) that is the cause."

*Prabhudevī.*—Perhaps this poetess was a queen. No fragment of her poetry is now available. The anthologies have no verse of hers. We know of her from Rājaśekhara's eulogy that she was a great poetess, a woman of taste, the abode of all arts, and as one who still lived in the minds of the people even after her death. Rājaśekhara describes her as belonging to the Lāṭa country.[36]

*Nāgammā.*—The *Sārṅgadhara Paddhati* gives us one verse of this poetess (p. 12). The verse is embellished with alliteration and is a salute to the rising sun:

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[34] कृशा केनासि त्वं ? प्रकृतिरियमङ्गस्य ननु मे ;
मलाधूम्रा कस्मात् ? गुरुजनगृहे पाचकतया ।
स्मरस्यस्मान् किञ्चित् ? नहि नहि नहीत्येवमगमत्
स्मरोत्कम्पं बाला मम हृदि निपत्य प्ररुदिता ॥

[35] पार्थस्य मनसि स्थानं लेभे खलु सुभद्रया ।
कवीनां च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुभद्रया ॥

[36] सूक्तीनां स्मरकेलीनां कलानां च निवासभूः ।
प्रभुदेवी कविर्लाटी गतापि हृदि तिष्ठति ॥

"I bow to the disc, crimson like the beak of the parrot and looking like the ear-pendant of the eastern quarter—of the rising sun, the kin of the lotus clusters."[37]

But some anthologies attribute this verse to Vijjikā. The suffix 'ammā' shows the poetess was a South Indian.

*Madālasā.*—Of this poetess also nothing more is known except one small verse given over her name in the *Sārṅgadhara Paddhati* (p. 106). The verse is didactic and pithy:

"My son, think of the means to the other world as you rise in the morning and as regards this world the fruition of your past actions themselves will take care."[38]

*Sarasvatīkuṭumbaduhitā.*—This is another poetess known to us through a single small verse in the *Sārṅgadhara Paddhati*. The verse is in praise of King Bhoja and is grossly indelicate.[39] The name means 'daughter of the poet who got the name Sarasvatīkuṭumba'. His verses are available in the *Sārṅgadhara Paddhati*, as also in the *Bhojaprabandha* of Ballāla. The poet and all the other members of his family are attributed with poetic powers.

*Bhāvākadevī.*—The anthology *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* gives us some verses of this poetess some of which are attributed to other authors in other anthologies. One verse describing the bust of women seems to be hers beyond any doubt. She was also called Bhāvadevī.

*Tribhuvanasarasvatī.*—The name seems to be a title given to the poetess. Over this name the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* gives us a verse praising God Viṣṇu in amorous play at the sight

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[37] शुकतुण्डच्छवि सवितुः चण्डरुचः पुण्डरीकवनबन्धोः ।
मण्डलमुदितं वन्दे कुण्डलमाखण्डलाशायाः ॥

[38] परलोकहितं तात प्रातरुत्थाय चिन्तय ।
इह ते कर्मणामेव विपाकश्चिन्तयिष्यति ॥

[39] सुरताय नमस्तस्मै जगदानन्दहेतवे ।
आनुषंगि फलं यस्य भोजराज भवादृशाः ॥

of Lakṣmī, during the churning of the ocean (p. 73).[40] By the time of Rājaśekhara she was a poetess of established reputation, for we find a reference to her in his drama "Karpūramañjarī" (Act II, p. 46, Kāvyamālā Edn.). The king and the queen are attended by the court clown and the maid both of whom entertain the royal couple with impromptu poetising. The maid named Vicakṣaṇā exhibits wonderful poetic powers and the king compliments her that she is 'Mahītala Sarasvatī', the younger sister of Tribhuvanasarasvatī.[41]

*Jaghanacapalā.*—This poetess seems to have been given this erotic name in the same manner as Vikaṭanitambā. The anthology *Padyaracanā* gives us one verse of hers describing a loose woman and the effect of the rain-season on her. The verse is coarse and is responsible for giving her the name Jaghanacapalā.[42]

*Cinnammā.*—In noticing and briefly describing the MS. of the *Sārṅgadhara Paddhati*, in the Tanjore Palace MSS. Library on p. 164 (*b*) Dr. Burnell says in his catalogue that this anthology includes selections from many South Indian names, amongst these a female named Cinnammā. The printed text of the Peterson Edition of the *Sārṅgadhara Paddhati* does not have *many* selections from South Indian names and it does not contain mention of a poetess named Cinnammā. She is evidently a South Indian and perhaps the rescension of the *Sārṅgadhara Paddhati* in the Tanjore Library is bigger with many later additions to it made in the south.

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40 पातु त्रिलोकीं हरिरम्बुराशौ प्रमथ्यमाने कमलां विलोक्य ।
अज्ञातहस्तच्युतभोगिनेत्रः कुर्वन्वृथा बाहुगतागतानि ॥

41 *Karpūra Mañjarī*, Act II, p. 46. Nirṇaya Sāgara Edition.
"एषा विचक्षणा महीतलसरस्वती ।
एतस्या ज्येष्ठभगिनिका त्रिभुवनसरस्वती ॥"

42 दुर्दिवसे घनतिमिरे दुस्सञ्चारासु नगरवीथीषु ।
पत्युर्विदेशगमने परमसुखं जघनचपलायाः ॥

*Gaurikā*, *Prakāśadattā*, *Muktāpīḍā* and *Maṅgamālā* are four more poetesses of whom we know no more than their names.[43]

*Avantisundarī* : Wife of Poet Rājaśekhara.—Rājaśekhara is a well-known poet, dramatist and critic who flourished between A.D. 880 and 920. His work on poetics, *Kāvya Mīmāmsā*, is a mine of rare information. In this work he quotes one woman Avantisundarī thrice as holding a different opinion. From the prologue to Rājaśekhara's Prākṛt drama, "Karpūramañjarī", we learn that this Avantisundarī is none else than the poet's own wife. It is at her wish that Rājaśekhara had his "Karpūramañjarī" staged.[44] He speaks of her as the finest product of the Chahuvan family. Thus she was a Kṣatriya woman and Rājaśekhara, a Brahmin poet, had perhaps a romantic life, like poet Bilhaṇa.

It is not known whether Avantisundarī wrote any poem or critical work. It is likely that she discussed problems of literary criticism with her husband and the latter recorded her solutions in his *Kāvya Mīmāmsā*. She defines maturity of expression in a poet as the power to conceive ideas and words appropriate to the rasa or emotional content (p. 20).

In Rājaśekhara's time there were many poetesses, for he says in his *Kāvya Mīmāmsā* : "Just as men, women also may be poets. We hear, and we *see* also, that princesses, daughters of ministers, courtezans, and wives of jesters are very learned in the śāstras and are also *poets*" (p. 53).

All the above-described poetesses who preceded the time of Rājaśekhara or lived during his time, can be classed as the early classic Sanskrit poetesses. There are a few well-known

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[43] Vāmanācārya R. Jalakīkar, (a modern) commentator on and editor of the *Kāvya Prakāśa*, considers many of the poetesses above-described, Vijjikā, Śīlā and others as belonging to Kashmir. He also mentions a new poetess named Sūrikā but the sources of his information are not known.

[44] चाहुवाणकुलमौलिमालिका राजशेखरकवीन्द्रगेहिनी ।
भर्तुः कृतिमवन्तिसुन्दरी सा प्रयोजयितुमेतदिच्छति ॥ (छाया)

poetesses of the later period whose works are preserved to us. During the dominance of the Mohammedan power in the North, when the native traditions of court patronage of art and letters continued to live in the South, there appeared a renaissance of Sanskrit literature in South India under the patronage of, first, the Vijayanagar emperors, then, of the numerous vassals of that Vijayanagar power all over the South, and lastly, of the Telugu and Maratha rulers of Tanjore. This rich age of Sanskrit poetry produced four great poetesses, *Gaṅgādevī*, *Tirumalāmbā*, *Rāmabhadrāmbā* and *Madhuravāṇī*.

*Gaṅgādevī*.—This poetess was the queen of King Kampana who ruled at Kāñcī about A.D. 1367. Gaṅgādevī describes her husband's birth and exploits in her poem called 'Madhurāvijaya', the conquest of Madura, a Mahākāvya containing perhaps ten cantos. The work available now up to the ninth canto only has been printed. King Bukka of Vijayanagar sent Kampa on an expedition to the Tuṇḍiramaṇḍala (Kāñcī) to quell King Campa and others. Kampa succeeded and established himself at the town of Marakata. After some time, king Kampa ably assisted by his Brahmin general Gopaṇṇa reigning at Sañcī and Suluva, one of his officers, marched to Madura, vanquished the Mohammedans, snatched the image of Śrī Raṅganātha from their hands and re-established it at Śrīraṅgam.

Gaṅgādevī commands a lucid style. Prasāda is the quality of her verses. She does not attempt at jingle which was a fever with later poets. The poetess is soaked in Kālidāsa, Her description of the birth of King Kampa in Canto II is moulded after Kālidāsa's description of the birth of Raghu in Canto III of the *Raghuvamśa*. Canto IV describing the victory-march of Kampa is reminiscent of Canto IV of the *Raghuvamśa*. Cantos V to VII describing King Kampa enjoying his harem and the seasons at Marakatapura contain many a passage that reminds us of Canto VII of Māgha's epic where the Yādava pairs go to the forest to enjoy the seasons. Then, one evening, the poetess is sitting by her lord's side and he asks her to describe the moonrise. This description of the rise of the

moon is modelled on that found in Canto VIII of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava.* The ninth Canto tells us of Kampa's fight with the Mohammedans. In the eighth, the presiding deity of the throne of the South—Dakṣinadeśa Rājya Lakṣmī—appears before Kampa, tells him her woes and asks him to save her from the iconoclasts that are laying waste the whole country. This situation has its prototype in Canto XVI of the *Raghuvamśa* where the *devatā* of the evacuated city of Ayodhyā appears before Rāma's son Kuśa requesting him to make her again the capital of the Raghus.[45]

*Tirumalāmbā.*—This is also an Āndhra poetess. She flourished in the court of Acyutarāya of Vijayanagar who came to the throne in A.D. 1530. Her work is not yet printed but is available in MS. in the Tanjore Library (*Tanjore Lib. New Catalogue*, Vol. VII, No. 4220). The work belongs to the class called Campūs—prose and verse. It is named after the main part of its subject, the marriage of the poetess' patron, Acyuta with Varadāmbā. This kāvya, *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya*, displays the authoress' talents of alliteration, high-wrought style, elaborate descriptions, and conceits which are characteristics of later poetry. Tirumalāmbā is rather verbose but there is much music as the long rolling prose periods alternate with the well-knit, polished verses.

The work opens with the description of the hero's predecessors. It then recounts his exploits and his marriage with Varadāmbā and ends with the coronation as Yuvaraj of Cinna Veṅkaṭādri, son of the hero Acyuta. The last verse is a prayer for the weal of her patron, his queen and son.

The long colophon at the end of the work gives us the achievements and talents of this poetess. She says of herself that she was the beloved of the king (Acyuta), that she learned the truths of the Purāṇas, Itihāsas, and Āgamas, and the beauties of the new kāvyas and nāṭakas by listening to an exposition of them even once and that she had attained proficiency in many languages.

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[45] *Cf. Madhurāvijaya*, II, 2, 3, 11, 12 with *Raghuvamśa*, III, 2, 4, 8, 9.
" IV, 35 " IV, 32,

*The wife of Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita.*—Some time later at Satyamaṅgalam in Tuṇḍiramaṇḍala, flourished a great scholar named Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita who had the title Ratnakheṭa, given to him for a fine conception of the setting sun and the rising moon in a verse of his. His wife equalled him in learning and is said to have taken part along with him in debates and discussions. Of her the following stories are told: Once she was rather late in arriving for the debate, and her husband asked her whether the delay was due to toilet. She replied in a verse ending with the same words which formed the query:

"When the locks were braided, a peacock took the braids for a dark serpent which it wanted to eat; when the locks were blown wide they resembled the spread plumes of a peacock with which the peacock wanted to fight; when they were again tied the peacock saw a heavy cloud in it and began to dance; by looking at that dance my toilet was delayed."[46]

On another occasion a northerner came to test the learning of this giant of the South. He was going up and down the vicinity of Ratnakheṭa's house one early morning. At that time the wife of Ratnakheṭa came out to sprinkle water and decorate the house-front with *kolam*. She saw the northerner and intuitively grasped the purpose of his prowling about there. Immediately, drawing her *kolam*, she playfully sang the verse:

"This first among the learned, this Ratnakheṭa Dīkṣita, wins his opponents without any effort when he begins his sport of debate; where then does Bṛhaspati (the teacher of the devas) prattle? Where does the king of serpents (great grammarian with a hundred faces) crawl away? The four-faced Brahman (author of the Vedas) loses his mouth and the

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[46] वेर्णीभूतेषु केशेष्वसितफणिधिया द्रष्टुमागत्य केकी
पश्चादारभ्य योद्धुं प्रतिशिखिमनसा तेषु विस्रंसितेषु ।
भूयो धम्मिल्लितेषु प्रकरघनधिया नर्तनायोज्जजृंभे
तन्नृत्तालोकनान्मे प्रियसख समभून्मण्डनश्रीविलम्बः ॥

six-faced god of learning Ṣaṇmukha (teacher of Brahman) cuts aṇ ugly face."[47]

It needs no mention that the northerner quietly skulked away. The verse in the original is highly musical and shows mastery of the language.

*Rāmabhadrāmbā.*—Coming to the time of Rājacūḍāmaṇi, the son of this famous Ratnakheṭa and to the time of his patron, the famous Raghunātha Bhūpa, Telugu ruler at Tanjore (A.D. 1614), we have a kāvya called the *Raghunāthābhyudaya*, a history of this king by his own queen, a great poetess, Rāmabhadrāmbā by name. This work also is of great historical importance. It is not available in print but a MS. of it is available in the Tanjore MSS. Library (*Tanj. Cat.*, Vol. VI, No. 3722). The work is a Mahākāvya in twelve cantos containing in all 910 verses. It begins with the description of Raghunātha's father, King Acyuta. The next event is the birth of the hero. Then he is installed as Yuvaraj and he starts out on war-campaigns to help the king of Vijayanagar. He subdues the Muraśas, releases King Kṛṣṇappa from prison and marries his daughter gratefully presented to him. Then in A.D. 1614, he ascends the throne at Tanjore, helps the king of Jaffna against the Portuguese, crushes Solaga, a tyrant of that time, assists the king of Vijayanagar to regain his throne from the hands of murderous usurpers, erects a pillar of victory on the banks of the Cauvery and finally returns to Tanjore after a long time.

After his arrival, this southern Bhoja, King Raghunātha, a scholar, a poet and a musician, the author of many poems, and the discoverer of new *mela* and new *tālas* in music, held a great court. His court contained the greatest poets and scholars of his time, Govinda Dīkṣita, his minister, Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita and Veṅkaṭamakhin, the minister's sons. The

[47] विपश्चितामपश्चिमे विवादकेलिनिश्चले
सपत्नजित्ययत्नमेव रत्नखेटदीक्षिते ।
बृहस्पतिः क्क जल्पति प्रसर्पति क्क सर्पराट्
असन्मुखश्च षण्मुखस्सुदुर्मुखश्चतुर्मुखः ॥

former Yajñanārāyaṇa has written a poem and a drama, the themes of which are his patron's life. Such a court had amongst its numberless personalities many ladies of high cultural and literary attainments. From a description of his court-hall called Lakṣmīvilāsa and the poets that adorned it found at the end of Rāmabhadrāmbā's poem we see that in Raghunātha's court there were numerous talented ladies who were proficient in composing the four kinds of poetry, in filling up incomplete verses and in giving out verses at the rate of a hundred per hour. There were poetesses in eight languages, Sanskrit, Telugu, and the six old Prākṛts. These ladies were great interpreters of poetry and drama, masters in both Karṇātic and deśi music, beautiful exponents of abhinaya, gesture and dance, and adepts in the musical instruments. On the occasion of the *durbar* which Raghunātha held after his arrival from his victorious campaigns, he examined these poetesses and gave them a kanakābhiṣeka—a gold-bath, a shower of gold coins. The towering personality amidst this bevy of women-artists was the queen herself, Rāmabhadrāmbā, the poetess who possessed all the aforesaid excellences. In the colophon to her work she says that she got her poetry as a grace from God Rāma and that she was crowned as empress on the throne of poetry, Sāhityasāmrājya.[48]

*Madhuravāṇī.*—This glorious court of King Raghunātha contained another poetess named Madhuravāṇī. She is the authoress of the Sanskrit version of King Raghunātha's Telugu epic, Āndhra Rāmāyaṇa. One day as he was sitting amidst his poetesses, the king asked who amongst them could translate into Sanskrit his own Telugu epic. That night it struck him in a dream that one person alone in his court could do it. The next morning the king called that poetess, praised her with the new name Madhuravāṇi, the sweet-tongued, and

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[48] इति श्रीरामभद्रकरुणाकटाक्षलब्धसारसारस्वतप्रवर्धमानशतलेखिनीसमंसमयलेखिनीयाष्टभाषाकल्पितचतुर्विधकवितानुप्राणितसाहित्यसाम्राज्यभद्रपीठारूढरामभद्राम्बाविरचिते रघुनाथाभ्युदये द्वादशः सर्गः ॥

asked her to translate his Telugu epic into Sanskrit. The poetess did it successfully.[49] We are at a loss to know the poetess' original name since she refers to herself only as Madhuravāṇī. She speaks of herself as coming from a family of scholars and the last verse of each canto of her poem tells us of her great talents. She possessed all the excellences described above and seems to have composed her own versions for the classics, *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa, *Naiṣadha* of Śrī Harṣa, and many other *campūs*. Besides, she has written some original *campūs* also.

*Sundarī and Kamalā.*—From A.D. 1614, from the reign of the Naiks, we come to the period A.D. 1728–1736, the reign of the Maratha prince Tukkoji at Tanjore. The Maratha kings followed the traditions of literary patronage of the Naik rulers. King Tukkoji had a domestic minister, a Maratha Brahmin, Ghanaśyāma by name. This minister was a prolific writer, author of sixty-four works, some of which he finished at a single sitting or in a single night. This indefatigable writer had two wives, Sundarī and Kamalā, and these two women were great scholars. In their name there has come to us a commentary called the *Camatkārataraṅgiṇī*—River of Delectation—written jointly by both of them, on Rājaśekhara's drama, *Viddhasālabhañjikā*. (Tanjore MSS. Lib., New Cat., Vol. VIII, No. 4678.)

*Priyamvadā.*—The Heritage of India Series contains an anthology of poems by Indian women in which there is mentioned a Bengali Sanskrit poetess who flourished about A.D. 1600. An introductory note there says that she was born of a scholar and was wedded to another scholar both of whom helped her in her literary career. One verse of hers, a descriptive praise of Kṛṣṇa, is translated into English in that anthology. More of this poetess is not known.

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[49] Only one MS. of Madhuravāṇī's work is available and it is said to be in the custody of some gentleman in Bangalore. Hence this account of mine of the poetess and her work is entirely borrowed from a reprint from an old issue of the *Indian Review*, Madras.

## The Prakrt Poetesses

To an account of the Sanskrit poetesses can legitimately be added a notice of the poetesses in the old Prākṛts, works in which are part of Sanskrit literature itself. It is again a 'golden treasury', an anthology of love-verses, the kośa called *Gāthāsaptaśatī* collected by Śātavāhana *alias* Hāla, that is our source of information regarding Prākṛt poetesses. Poet Bāṇa, who flourished in the first half of the seventh century, praises Śātavāhana and his collection; therefore the following poetesses whose verses are preserved in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* are very much earlier than the beginning of the seventh century. We know of eight poetesses from this source, Revā, Rohā, Mādhavī, Anulakṣmī, Prahatā, Vaddhāvahī (Prākṛt form), Śasiprabhā and Asuladdhī (Prākṛt form).[50]

*Revā.*—Two verses of this poetess are given in the first hundred (I. 87, 90). They portray very beautifully two love-moods, the first of a lady of the mood-type called Kalahāntaritā and the second, of the mood-type called Khaṇḍitā. In the first gāthā, the lady gets angry at her lover's misconduct and goes out; the lover follows her; the back of her body, conscious of the lover coming at the back, is thrilled into homipilation and at once, the lady's friend says: 'Why this feigned anger, your homipilated back betrays that your heart yearns for him?'

अवलम्बितमानपराङ्मुख्याः आगच्छतो मानिनि प्रियस्य ।
पृष्ठपुलकोद्गमस्तव कथयति संमुखस्थितं हृदयम् ॥[51]

The second gāthā is more appealing. A wayward lover offends his love often and when, one day, he pleads to her to excuse his sin, she gets angry and asks him: "You shameless man, tell me, which sins of yours you want me to excuse, those you have committed in the past, those that you now commit or those which you are going to commit?"

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50 *Vide* Dr. A. S. Altekar's *Education in Ancient India*, p. 236, where there is a mention of the first seven poetesses.

51 Only the Chāyās of the Gāthās are given here.

किं तावत् कृतं, अथवा करोषि, करिष्यसि सुभगेदानीम् ।
अपराधानामलज्जाशील कथय कतमे क्षम्यन्ताम् ॥

*Rohā.*—Only one gāthā of this poetess is available and it is also a picture of the mood-type of the Kalahāntaritā or offended woman. The lady's friend, accomplice and messenger, has greater understanding of man's heart and she has arrived at the conclusion that man cannot improve and woman cannot be too critical. The friend says: 'We entreat him, though he misbehaves, for we cannot live without him; the fire may burn a city but the fire does not cease to be dear to us.'

येन विना न जीव्यते, अनुनीयते स कृतापराधोऽपि ।
प्राप्तेऽपि नगरदाहे भण कस्य न वल्लभोऽग्निः ॥

*Anulakṣmī.*—There are four fine gāthās over the name of this poetess. III. 74 depicts a lady inducing her lord with a very artful speech. III. 63 is an oft-quoted gāthā. Travellers walking along the road saw a banyan tree, full of green leaves and red ruby-like fruits; they reached its foot and squatted for rest and at once bevies of parrots flew away, leaving the banyan tree, leafless and fruitless. The travellers clapped their hands and laughed, having mistaken the green parrots with their red beaks for leaves and fruits of the tree.

हसितं सहस्ततालं शुष्कवटमुपगतैः पथिकैः ।
पत्रफलानां सदृशे उड्डीने शुकवृन्दे ॥

III. 28 is a compliment and artful advance of a lady to the young and beautiful husband of another woman. The lady says to him: 'It is plain why your wife is chaste and why, you beautiful youth, we are not so; there is hardly any youth like you.'

यत्तव सती जाया असत्यो यच्च सुभग वयमपि ।
तत् किं स्फुटतु बीजं तव समानो युवा नास्ति ॥

III. 76 of Anulakṣmī describes how close an embrace a pair had on their meeting. The lady says to her friend afterwards in a reminiscent mood: 'He had to extricate himself with great difficulty from my arms as if they had been tied

like a rope; and I had to pluck out my breasts as if they had stuck into his chest.'

दृढमूलबन्धग्रन्थी इव मोचितौ कथमपि तेन मे बाहू ।
अस्माभिरपि तस्योरसि निखाताविव समुत्खातौ स्तनौ ॥

*Prahatā.*—The Prākṛt name given in the book is Pahī or Pāhī and the Sanskrit form is also given there as Prahatā. Only one verse of this poetess is left for us to enjoy. It depicts the type of woman called Svādhīnapatikā, one whose husband is good and docile. She says to her friend how she behaved with him on an occasion: 'I slapped him, and blowing with the air of my mouth the aching palm (that had slapped him), I laughed and with my other hand clasped him by his neck.'

एकं प्रहारोद्विग्नं हस्तं मुखमारुतेन वीजयन् ।
सोऽपि हसन्त्या मया गृहीतो द्वितीयेन कण्ठे ॥

*Vaddhāvahī.*—Only the Prākṛt form of the name of this poetess is seen. Only one gāthā of hers is collected by Śātavāhana (I. 70) and even that is attributed to another male poet also named Anurāga. The gāthā shows a friend consoling a lady suffering from separation from her lover.

*Śaśiprabhā.*—In the single gāthā (IV. 4) through which only we are introduced to this poetess, we see quite another kind of woman depicted, the constant and good-tempered lady whose love for her lord, even when he misbehaves or shows no love, is unshakeable. Her friend, however, finds fault with the lady for not getting angry towards her lord. The lady replies: 'His love may be fickle and he may say this and that, but I delight in him yet; the tree may not respond and may stand feelingless; the creeper, all the same, clings and twines around that tree.''

यथा यथा वादयति प्रियः, तथा तथा नृत्यामि चञ्चले प्रेम्णि ।
वल्ली वलयत्यङ्गं स्वभावस्तब्धेऽपि वृक्षे ॥

*Mādhavī.*—A very feminine feeling is portrayed by this poetess who defines what sort of men women love. In I. 91, attributed to Mādhavī, a dūtī teaches this to a boorish husband: 'Those who lay aside their lordship and when

their ladies are cross, plead and entreat like servants, they are the souls dear to women, they are the *lovers* ; the rest are only wretched masters.'

गोपायन्ति ये प्रभुत्वं कुपितां दासा इव ये प्रसादयन्ति ।
त एव महिलानां प्रियाः शेषास्स्वामिन एव वराकाः ॥

*Asuladdhī.*—The text gives the name of this poetess with a query and hence we are not sure of her name. Two verses of hers depicting the sufferings of women separated from their lords are available, II. 77 and 78.

# THE VISHṆUKUṆḌINS

## (A Little-known Dekhan Dynasty)

By S. V. Viswanatha, M.A.

During the period when the Guptas were having their imperial sway in the central Gangetic regions of North India, there were a number of smaller dynasties who were ruling over the territory now covered by Central India and the Dekhan. Of these, little is known so far about the Vishṇukuṇḍins. This dynasty deserves, however, to be more widely known for the reason that it played an important part in the history of Indian architecture and sculpture, formed a connecting link between some of the various kingdoms of the Dekhan and served to fill up a gap in the story of the dynasties of Central India.

The term Vishṇukuṇḍin has been derived by Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica* (IV. 195) from Vinukoṇḍa, "a town 60 miles east of Śrī Śaila, that was the capital of the kings of the dynasty". It looks as if it may be more appropriate to call the town after the family of chiefs that ruled there, than *vice versa.* The people of the locality explain Vinukoṇḍa as the "Hill of Learning", for Rāma is believed to have got from there the news that it was Rāvaṇa that had carried away his queen Sītā. Vinukoṇḍa literally means the "Sky-Hill" or "Hill of Vishṇu". One fact seems apparent even in the very name of the dynasty that it was devoted to the worship of Vishṇu.

### Architecture and other Monuments

The royal emblem of this line of kings was the lion, "an advancing lion with its left forepaw raised, its neck erect, mouth wide-open, and the tail swung over the back so as to end in a loop," as is clear from the seal attached to the Chikkula plates issued by a king of the dynasty Vikramahendra Varman II (*Ep. Rep.*, 1909). The image of the lion met with in two of the columns contained in the cave

temples at Undavalli is similar to the one described above, except that it is the right forepaw that is seen raised here and not the left. It is possible that coins unearthed from the Vizagapatam district, that have the figure of the lion on them, and noticed in the *Indian Antiquary* (XXV. 30-33) belong to this line of kings. Some of these "Lion-Coins" which have also a "vase" on them have been attributed by Dr. V. A. Smith to the Pallavas (*Early History of India*, Plates and *Catalogue of Coins* in the Indian Museum). But the vase seems to have been also part of the architecture of the Vishṇukuṇḍins. In one of the rock-cut shrines at Undavalli are a number of sculptured columns on the cubical bases of two of which there is the image of the lion, as already noticed. At the foot of another pillar in the same cave there is met with an image of a "vase" (Longhurst, *Pallavas*, 32 f.). The sculptures resemble very much those found in the caves believed to have been assigned to the architectural genius of the Pallava king Mahendra Varman I. "The rock-cut temples at Bezwada, Mugalrajapuram and Undavalli all belong to the same period and are similar in style to some of the rock-cut temples in the Tamil country, which we know for certain were excavated by Mahendra's orders (Longhurst, 5).[1] But it seems improbable that Mahendra Pallava should have been the author of the rock-cut temples in the Telugu country, for according to Mr. Longhurst Pulakeśin conquered Mahendra's Telugu country at the very beginning of Mahendra's reign." The Pallava king could have ruled over this portion, if at all, only for a very short period, "because we know that by the middle of the seventh century, this country was in the hands of the Chāḷukyas. It is therefore likely that Pulakeśin conquered it about 610 A.D." (Longhurst, 4). In his anxiety to explain for the Telugu attributes of Mahendra Varman met with at Trichinopoly and

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[1] The temples at Bezwada and Mugalrajapuram appear to be somewhat later, though these are situated in the same tract of the country.

Pallavaram, Mr. Longhurst forces on himself the conclusion, "it is probable that this defeat and loss of his dominions in the North led Mahendra to extend his territory in the South" (41).[2]

There is no evidence to corroborate the conjecture that Mahendra was defeated and therefore fled from the original seat of his rule in the Telugu country. On the other hand, as Mr. Longhurst himself says, "it is possible that the Pallavas may have learnt the art of excavating temples out of the rock from the Vishṇukuṇḍins". He hesitates to accept this view; but the following points would go to show that it is substantially correct, and falls in a line with the conclusions so far attained of the history of the kingdoms of the Dekhan. Undavalli is situated on the banks of the Krishṇa, a region that was included in the territory of the Vishṇukuṇḍins. The lion and the vase are both met with in their sculptures. The religion of the Vishṇukuṇḍins was Vaishṇavism, at least at the beginning of the history of the dynasty. An inscription (No. 33) in the cave temple on the rock fort at Trichinopoly says, "now that Guṇabhara (Mahendra) is a worshipper of the *liṅga*, let the knowledge that he has turned back from hostile conduct be spread far and wide by this *liṅga*" (*Ep. Ind.*, III). It seems clear from this that he should have persecuted the Śaivites before this incident. Mr. Longhurst observes this fact, but his view is that Mahendra originally upheld the faith of the Jainas. If it was so, this king could not have "got his taste for rock-cut temples from the Buddhists who lived in the Telugu country, at the beginning of his reign" (5). Nor could one explain but with the fact of

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[2] These Telugu names of Mahendra Varman, Mr. Longhurst says, "show that he originally came from the Telugu country and that it was there where he must have first got his taste for excavating temples out of the living rock" (22). But in the same page there is the conflicting statement "that it was Mahendra himself who personally introduced the idea of excavating Hindu temples out of the natural rock......there cannot be any shadow of doubt."

his being a staunch Śaivite, how he could have demolished a Jaina monastery at Pāṭaliputra, a seat of Jaina learning in the South Arcot district, and built a Śiva temple on the spot.[3] He evidently did not persecute the Vaishṇavas, as Mr. Longhurst observes; and this can be accounted for only by the supposition that he was at first a worshipper of Vishṇu, as were his predecessors the Vishṇukuṇḍins who were responsible for the cave temples at Undavalli. The observation made by Prof. Dubreuil (*Pallavas*, 35) that "the Pallavas at the end of the sixth century reigned in the districts of Nellur and Guntur; their neighbours were the Vishṇukuṇḍins who reigned on the banks of the river Krishṇa; and that Simha Vishṇu married probably the daughter of a Vishṇukuṇḍin king named Vikramahendra and gave his son the name of the grandfather Mahendravikrama" are at best intelligent conjectures and little more. Both the Undavalli and the Mugalrajapuram temples have to be assigned to the Vishṇukuṇḍins from whom Mahendravarman copied the idea of rock-cut temples. In these "most of the sculptured figures contained within represent Vaishṇava deities and legends". The figures in panels representing incarnations of Vishṇu and the Vaishṇava Āḻwārs and the big image of *Anantaśayana* (Vishṇu in the recumbent posture on the serpent) among the other sculptures prove clearly that these temples were originally dedicated to Vishṇu (see Longhurst, 24; *Ind. Ant.*, V. 80). The sculptures of Śaiva and Buddhist deities met with in them have rather to be taken as additions of later times. We find it clearly stated of one Vishṇukuṇḍin king Indra Varman, fifth of the line, that he was a staunch devotee of Śiva (*Parama Māheśvara*). Śrī-Parvata contained in about the early centuries A.D. a Buddhist habitation or colony in Nāgārjuni-koṇḍa, as is clearly testified by the *stūpa*, *chaitya* and Buddhist sculptures and inscriptions recently unearthed from there.

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[3] This Pāṭaliputra is the modern Cuddalore which was also known as the city of *pāṭali* flower, and a suburb of which goes now by the name Tiru-pa (tiri)-Puliyur, the glorious "Tiger-town" of *pāṭiri* flower,

### The Extent of their Rule

The territory over which the Vishṇukuṇḍins held sway is indicated by the epigraphs which contain grants of villages made by the kings of the dynasty.[4] Internal evidence, palæographical and genealogical, would lead us to deal with these inscriptions in the order in which they are treated below:

The Ippūr Plates of Mādhava Varman (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, 337) record the grant of the village to two Brahmans, Indra Śarman and Agni Śarman, by Mādhava Varman who is described as the "Lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya" and as residing at [Amarā]pura, which was perhaps identical with Amarāvati. The characters in which the plates are engraved are considered to be the same as those of the British Museum Plates of Chāru Devi (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 143), and cannot be referred to a period later than the fifth century A.D.

The Rāmatīrtham Plates of Indra Varman, father of Vikramahendra Varman (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, 133) state that the charter was issued by the king from his residence (*vāsaka*) at Puraṇisaṅgama, while Vikramahendra's camp was at Lendulūra (in the Ellore taluk near Vengi). The village granted is Peruvāḍa in (Pūki-*rāshṭra* somewhere in the modern Vizagapatam district).

The Chikkula Plates of Vikramahendra Varman (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, 194 f.) make the grant of the village Regoṉṟam in Naṟṟi-pati-sīma on the banks of the Krishṇabeṇṇa, to the south-east of the village Ravireva. It is held that the script of this grant cannot in any event be later than the eighth century A.D.

The Pulombūru Grant of Mahārāja Mādhava Varman registers a gift of land and of the village Pulombūru in Guddavāti-*vishaya* to a certain Śiva Śarman, a resident of Kuṇḍūru

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[4] One stone inscription belonging to the dynasty and noticed in the *Ep. Rep.* for 1926 is considerably damaged and has yielded no new results. On comparison, it will be noticed that the genealogy attempted in the *A. R.* for 1916 is incorrect.

(Guntur ?) in Kanma-*rāshṭra* when the king crossed the river Godāvari for conquering the eastern region. The alphabet here is later than in the preceding grants.

The Ippūr Plates of Mādhava Varman (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, 334 f.) record the grant of the village Vilamali in Guddāḍi-*vishaya* to a certain Agni Śarman. The king's camp (*vāsaka*) was pitched at Kudavāḍa (a taluk in the Krishṇa district) and his residence (*bhavana*) was at Trivaranagara.

It is obvious from the geographical particulars contained in these grants that the rule of the Vishṇukuṇḍins extended not only over the banks of the Krishṇa, as Dubreuil says, but over the entire region now covered by the districts of Vizagapatam, Godāvari, Krishṇa and Guntur. The rivers Godāvari and Krishṇa flowed through this country. The mountain ranges Trikūta, Malaya and Śrī-Parvata were included in it. It is also clear that these kings tried to extend their arms in the eastern direction.

If the Pallavas could lay a claim to a cultural heritage from the Vishṇukuṇḍins, as attested by their architecture, sculpture and coinage, the Eastern Chāḷukyas appear to be the inheritors of their political fortune, as is clear from the similarity of language used in their inscriptions, as well as from the names of localities mentioned in their grants as having been gifted away by them. The village Peruvāḍaka in Plakshi-*rāshṭra* which belonged to the Vishṇukuṇḍins when Indra Varman made a grant of it in his Rāmatīrtham Plates seems to have passed into the hands of Vishṇuvardhana I (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, 317 f.). The Eastern Chāḷukya Sarvalokāśraya is seen to have made a gift of the village Chendalūru (in the Guntur district) in the year 673 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, No. 24). At the time of the Pulombūru Grant of Jayasimha I (632-663) Guddavāḍi had been absorbed into the territory of the Eastern Chāḷukyas, and the village was granted to Rudra Śarman, son of Śiva Śarman[5] (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, 254 f.). It is clear from

[5] Rudra Śarman is styled here as "the former owner of the village," for the latter was granted to Śiva Śarman, the father of Rudra Śarman, by the Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhava Varman III. The

the above that the Vishṇukuṇḍins should have preceded the Eastern Chāḷukyas at Vengi, and that their sway should have disappeared at least by 670 A.D. This date will therefore have to be taken as fixing the lower limit of the duration of this dynasty of kings. It is apparent that Mādhava Varman, the donor of the Pulombūru Plates, was engaged in his "eastern campaigns" early in the course of his reign; and his wars must have resulted in the gradual loss of his territory at least from *c.* 630 A.D., and the ultimate passing away of the sway over the eastern regions.

## Their Genealogy

Now to fix the genealogy of the dynasty. The Ippūr Plates (I) mention Mādhava Varman the donor as the son of Deva Varman and grandson of Mahārāja Mādhava Varman thus yielding three generations, *viz.*:—

Mādhava Varman,
Deva Varman,
and Mādhava Varman (Mahārāja).

The Rāmatīrtham Plates give the names of Indra Varman (called Indra Bhaṭṭāraka Varman in the Chikkula Plates below), his son Vikramahendra Varman, his father Vikramahendra Varman and grandfather Mahārāja Mādhava Varman. The Chikkula Plates give the same genealogy as in the Rāmatīrtham Plates and say that the donee Vikramendra Varman was the "dear grandson of Vikramendra Varman".

The Pulombūru Grant makes mention of Vikramendra whose son was Govinda Varman. The "dear son" of the latter was Mahārāja Mādhava Varman *alias* Janāśraya Mahārāja, perhaps so called because he was a popular and benevolent king. Thus we have here:—

grant of Jayasimha was perhaps only a confirmation of the donee in the possession of the village, though it had passed over to the new dynasty of the Eastern Chāḷukyas. The rights of private individuals over their property were thus left intact though the territory changed hands after conquest.

Vikramendra Varman,
Govinda Varman,
and Mahārāja Mādhava Varman (Janāśraya).

The Ippūr Plates of Mādhava Varman, son of Govinda Varman, yield besides these two names that of Manachyanna Bhaṭṭāraka mentioned as the "dear son" of the former and as having executed the grant on behalf of his father.

The genealogy of the dynasty that would result from a combined study of the names met with in the above epigraphs may now be given:

Mahārāja Mādhava Varman I
|
Deva Varman
|
Mahārāja Mādhava Varman II
|
Vikramendra Varman I
|
Mahārāja Indra Varman (Bhaṭṭāraka)
|
Mahārāja Vikramendra Varman II
|
Mahārāja Govinda Varman
|
Mahārāja Mādhava Varman III
|
Manachyanna Bhaṭṭāraka Varman.

## A Chronicle of the Kings

Some other particulars regarding the chronicle of these kings are met with in the records under review. Mādhava Varman II is said to have "ruled over the Trikūṭa and Malaya Mountains" and is mentioned as "a worshipper of the deity at Śrī-Parvata". He is addressed in the Chikkula Plates as "belonging to the ever-rising family of the Vishṇukuṇḍins". Vikramendra Varman I is styled in the Rāmatīrtham Plates as "an ornament of the two families—Vishṇukuṇḍin and Vākāṭaka". Obviously, he was connected on the mother's side with the Vākāṭakas, his father Mādhava Varman II having married a Vākāṭaka princess. This fact of intermarriage between the two houses is again mentioned in the Chikkula Plates. Indrabhaṭṭāraka Varman is described as having "encountered in a hundred thousand battles numerous

elephants with four tusks". He seems to have come out victorious in a war where he had to face a fierce combination of several neighbouring chiefs (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVI. 116), of whom Indrarāja of Kaliṅga was perhaps the most prominent. Vikramendra Varman II, the "dear grandson" of Vikramendra, I had "duly taken upon himself the whole burden of government even in his childhood". He ascended the throne while yet a boy, but should have had a pretty long reign; he is credited with having "celebrated thousands of sacrifices, a *Sarvamedha*, a 100,000 *Bahusvarṇa*, *Pauṇḍarīka*, *Purushamedha*, *Vājapeya*, *Yūddhya*, *Rājasūya*, *Prādhirājya*, *Prājāpatya* and others." Indra Varman is extolled as "having gained victories in the eastern direction". He was a fervent worshipper of Śiva (*Parama Māhēśvara*). Madhava Varman III is also described as a worshipper at Śrī-Parvata.

Two facts of outstanding significance emerge out of these epigraphs. The first is the marriage relationship of the Vishṇukuṇḍins and the Vākāṭakas. Marriage alliances among the various dynasties of kings were in vogue in the period that is being dealt with. The Balaghat Plates of Prithvīsēna II (*Ep. Ind.*, IX. 36) state that Gautamīputra, a son of Pravarasēna (I) Vākāṭaka, married a princess of the Bhāraśiva line, who styled herself as the daughter of a Bhava Rāja. Rudrasēna II Vākāṭaka was a younger contemporary of Chandra Gupta II. Vākāṭaka inscriptions state that this Rudrasēna, son of Prithvīsēna, married a princess by name Prabhāvatī Gupta. A grant of this queen refers to her as the regent of her son Divākarasēna Vākāṭaka (*Ep. Ind.*, XV). She describes herself as the daughter of Chandra Gupta II and Kubhēra Nāga, and as the crowned queen of Rudrasēna (*J.A.S.B.*, XX, No. 4). An inscription at Malavalli in Mysore (Luders' List, 1195; *Ep. Kar.*, VII, S.K. 263) is dated in the second year of Hāritiputa—Vinhukaḍa—Chuṭukulānanda—Satakamni, king of Vaijayanti.[6] A record of the twelfth year of the same king at

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[6] Some of the large lead coins found in the Anantapur and Cuddappah districts that contain on them the conjectural reading "Ḥāṛiti" may perhaps refer to this king.

Banavāsi (*Ind. Ant.*, 1885, 331) is mentioned as No. 1186 in Luders' List. These apparently point to marriage relationship between Vishṇukuṇḍin and Chuṭukula (Nāga) resulting in a "Satakamni". The expression Vishṇukuṇḍin—Kadamba—Satakarni also shows a social bond between the three dynasties, the union of the first two resulting perhaps in the third (Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*). Mādhava Varman Vishṇu-kuṇḍin, the father of Vikramendra, is said to have taken to wife a princess of the Vākāṭaka line. During the period under survey the following houses were connected with each other by marriage-alliances: Gupta and Vākāṭaka; Vākāṭaka and Bhāraśiva; Gupta and Nāga; Bhāraśiva and Nāga; Vākāṭaka and Vishṇukuṇḍin; Vishṇukuṇḍin and Kadamba and Vishṇukuṇḍin and Nāga.

Secondly, the kings of the dynasty beginning with Mādhava Varman II, with the exception of his son and grand-son are described as "devoted to the Lord of Śrī-Parvata". Strangely enough the holy Lord of Śrī-Parvata was the tutelary deity of Prabhāvatī, the widow of Rudrasēna II Vākāṭaka, though Śrī-Parvata was not included in nor was close to the territory of the Guptas or of the Vākāṭakas. It seems probable, therefore, that the princess that was taken in marriage by the Vishṇukuṇḍin was a daughter of Rudrasēna II by Prabhāvatī, whose devotion to the deity of Śrī-Parvata may have commenced consequent on this connection. This conclusion may enable us to account for the statement made in the Chikkula Plates that the dynasty to which Mādhava Varman belonged was "the ever-rising family of the Vishṇukuṇḍins". It is reasonable to suppose that the prestige of this family should have been enhanced by the marriage of Mādhava with a Vākāṭaka princess.

## Chronology of the Kings

The rule of the Vishṇukuṇḍins may be considered roughly to have come to a close after the death of Mādhava Varman III. Probably, "his dear son" never sat on the throne. . . . at any rate there is no other inscription bearing his name and no other

evidence to the contrary; and the territory of the Vishṇu-kuṇḍins had been slowly conquered by the Eastern Chāḷukyas. As we have seen, the lower limit for this dynasty has to be placed *c.* 670 A.D.; though the decline of their fortunes may have begun about 630 A.D. The dates for the King Mādhava Varman II may roughly range from 450-500 A.D. He was the son-in-law of Prabhāvatī, and even her marriage to the Vākāṭaka is supposed to have taken place only in 395 A.D.

The chronological data furnished in the various epigraphs do not give us any definite clue as regards the dates of the kings, beyond furnishing a few details in respect of the duration of some of the reigns. The Ippūr Plates of Mādhava III give the data 37th year, *grīshma* (summer), full moon of the seventh fortnight (obviously a day of lunar eclipse). The Ippūr Plates of Mādhava II furnish the particulars 47th year, Saptamī of the seventh fortnight, *varsha* (rainy season). The Rāmatīrtham grant is dated in the 27th year of Indra Varman. The Pulombūru Plates give a symbol for the regnal year[7], *phālguṇa*, *paurṇimā*, lunar eclipse. The Chikkula Plates refer to a "year of victory (*Vijayarājya-samvatsaram*)[8] and date them in the 10th year of this event. The reign of the King Vikramendra II should have been long, as it began in his youth and he was responsible for an unusually large number of sacrifices, even making allowance for the play of the poet's fancy in this connection. Similarly, the dates to be assigned to Mādhava Varman II and III should allow of long periods of rule, extending over at least 47 and

7 The symbol given at the end of the plates is . The upper part seems to indicate the figure 40 (compare figure 42 in *Nasik Cave Ins.*, No. 12, Pl. V, *l.* 1, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII). It is similar to 41 (*vide* the above Pl., *l.* 4).

8 The expression *Vijayarājya-samvatsaram* appears to have been used in a "general sense" and is not infrequently met with in other Telugu inscriptions. It is also of some interest that a certain Vijayapuri is mentioned as having been situated in and round the range of hills known as Nāgārjuni-koṇḍa or Śrī-Parvata (Ins. No. 219 of 1927). Had this anything to do with the incident or the date?

37 years respectively. Indra Varman's reign may be considered to have lasted at least for 30 years.

Thus we arrive at the following aproximate dates:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mādhava Varman | .. | c. 400–425 A.D. |
| Deva Varman | .. | 425–450 |
| Mādhava Varman II | .. | 450–500 |
| Vikramendra Varman I | .. | 500–520 |
| Indra Varman | .. | 520–550 |
| Vikramendra Varman II | .. | 550–590 |
| Govinda Varman | .. | 590–610 |
| Mādhava Varman III and son Manachyanna | .. | 610–650 c. |

# JAINISM IN KONGU NADU

BY C. M. RAMACHANDRAM CHETTIAR, B.A., B.L.

FROM the few relics of Jain civilization lying scattered in Kongu Nadu at a few places, we can infer that the religion made inroads into this far-off country; and perhaps a wave of Jain civilization swept over it although it did not leave any marked effect in it. We may safely infer that a few learned priests with a few disciples or a few families immigrated to this land with a view to spread their religion in this country. They had made some impression on the people as could be inferred by the existence of a few ancient temples in the Erode taluk and one image on a rock at Tirumūrthi Hill, by the existence of the name of Bastīpuram (Basti is the Jain temple) to a deserted site at Vijiamangalam and by the survival of two Jain families of priests, one at Vijiamangalam and the other at Pundurai in the Erode taluk. In fact this new and strange religion of those days did not stay long and had disappeared without making a permanent mark into the affairs of the Kongu people. Even to-day the people who reside at the next doors to the Jain temple do not know that the temple represents a different religious ideal from theirs. In fact, some think that the Jain image is that of another form of Siva and call it Ammanesvar, meaning thereby, the naked God. If we make a casual inquiry of a villager if any Jain temple exists in his village, he at once denies its existence though he would have passed by it every day from his childhood and played on the grounds surrounding the temple, and seen the temple and the sitting posture of the deity with the three-fold umbrella over its head, quite in contrast with the figures of Siva or Vishnu. This shows that no practical impression has been made by this religion on the minds of the general public in this country.

The earliest lithic records discovered in the Kongu country show that the new religions of Buddhism and Jainism tried to influence this country to a certain extent. There are

some natural caverns on the sides of the Arunattar Hill near Pugalur which could be ascribed to the third century B.C. They contain stone beds chiselled on the bottom rock with inscriptions which refer to a goldsmith of Karur. This gives us some idea regarding the importance of the place at that distant date. There are reasons to believe that the caverns on this hill formed once the residence of Buddhistic monks like the others found in the Pandya country. [1]Similar beds have been found in the Aivar Malai in the Palani taluk. They are called Pancha Pandavar Padukkai (beds of the five Pandavars). There are similar relics of ancient civilization on the Trichangodu hill and Vellimalais which are generally attributed to Pandavas and which could be traced to either Buddhistic or Jain origin. It is quite natural for the Indians to attribute whatever old either to Rama or to the Pandavas and as a result of it we find every district containing some object connected with either the Ramayana or the Mahabharata even though there may not be the remotest chance of any such connection to have existed in the past.

There is reference to an event in the *Brihatkathākosa* of the Jain author Harishēna which belongs to the same period as that attributed to the caverns of Arumattar Hill mentioned above. It states that a Jain Sangha went to the South in the direction of the Punnata country. This province was in the south-west of the Mysore State and is mentioned by Ptolemy in the second century of the Christian Era, as containing beryl.[2]

According to inscriptions its capital was Kitipuram identified now with Kittur on the Kabbini River.[3] We know beryls were got only at Padiyur in the Kongu Nadu. So it is quite clear that the Jain Sangha would have moved towards Kongu Nadu and would have tried to convert the people into Jainism.

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1 *Report of the Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, p. 275.

2 *Mysore and Coorg Ins.*, p. 146.

3 *Indian Ant.*, XVIII, p. 366.

We have no information to definitely say that the Sangha which moved towards Kongu before the Christian Era continued its activities for a number of centuries or that it maintained sustained activity for any length of time. We find only certain relics scattered in different parts of the country spread over different ages with the help of which we cannot give any sort of continued or connected account.

At Tirumūrthi Hills, about twelve miles south of Udumalpet, there is a big boulder with a Jain image engraved on it. The image shows a Tīrtankarar in a sitting posture with two Chāmarandras on either side. The boulder seems to have rolled down from a higher place owing to an earthquake or similar incident. The boulder now lies in a slanting posture so that the image is also in the same position. It is a huge one about 25 feet in diameter. There are inscriptions in the place which show that it was known as Ammana Samudram in olden days. The deity had been known as Ammaneswara. Here is an everlasting flow of water and a water-fall about a mile higher, with lofty hills surrounding a deep gorge. The Jain monks would have liked the place immensely and could have located their centre of religious activities at such an ideal locality. When the Jain priests entered the place and how much influence they exercised over the surroundings, we are unable to say. But we know that latterly every trace of Jain influence had been lost at the place perhaps even prior to the Madura rule, for none of the Palayagar chiefs who ruled this country from their headquarter at Dhali mention anything about Jains or Jainism. The Nayaks and their feudatories being orthodox caste-ridden Hindus, mostly of Vaishnavite persuasion, would have erased all the relics of Jainism. Nowadays even the name Jain is unknown in the place and the Jain image has assumed the name of Tirumūrthi, the Hindu Trinity combined into one. The image has one central figure of a Tīrtankara with two Chāmarandras thus making three figures in one. So it is quite natural for an orthodox Hindu to regard it as a Tirumūrthi. Soon the priests of the locality attributed the

Puranic story of Anusūya and Athri rishi to this place and quite recently a local Sthala Puranam has been spun by a local Pandit with that story as the basis. This is how certain religions disappear giving place to a more prevalent religion.

The stronghold of Jainism seems to have been the Erode taluk in and around Vijiamangalam. The very name Vijiamangalam in a purely Tamil country of the type of Kongu Nadu shows that it ought to have a foreign origin. The folk-lore current in the place also shows a tinge of Jainism. This place must have been a colony of Jains as evidenced from the existence of the name, Bastipuram. The Jain temples in the surroundings are very old and are in ruins. The one at Vijiamangalam has been included in the protected historical monuments. The others are actually crumbling into heaps of ruins. A recent act of vandalism of a Sanyasi has removed the ruins of the temple on the fine conical hill near Vijiamangalam and the beautiful image in it and replaced an ugly temple with a lingam in it. The images of Tīrtankaras in these temples are fine pieces of sculpture. The roof in the Vijiamangalam temple contains the life of Rishaba Tīrtankarar engraved in relief work which is a beautiful piece of sculpture. The following are the temples now found in the Erode taluk.

1. *Vijiamangalam.*—Four miles from the Railway Station of the same name; contains the temple of *Chandraprabha Tīrtankarar.* It is popularly known as Nettai Gopuram as it stands tall and erect. The temple has five halls. In the innermost, there is a small statue of Chandraprabha Tīrtankarar. The original brick-work and a mortar figure have disappeared. In the second hall there is a small statue of Vardhamāna Mahāvira, the last of the Tīrtankaras. In the third hall there is a statue of Anantanātha with thirteen small figures around it. This is now broken. In the fourth hall there is a big statue of Kushpanini or Dharmadevi facing eastwards. On its right there are six figures whom they call as Pandavas while on the left there is a fine statue of Rishaba Tīrtankara. In the fifth hall which is the

biggest, the terrace has the history of Ādiswara or Rishabanātha engraved on it. The marriage of Nāgarāja with Marudevi, Marudevi's confinement, birth of Rishaba, the removal of the child by the queen of Chavi Indra, the anointment of Rishaba and the Āchāryabhavam of the Saint are clearly and beautifully depicted in stone. This is an excellent piece of sculpture. In front of the shrine there is a Manastambha with four facades containing Brahma Yaksha, Chandraprabha, Jwālāmālini and another Brahma Yaksha (Sāsta). The top flower of the pillar broke during the last earthquake.

This temple is also connected with Mahabharata incidents as a well nearby is said to have been made by Bhima by plunging his club into the earth and as the rock nearby is said to have been the seat where Bhima sat during his sojourn at this place.

On enquiry, the priest was not found to be in possession of any historical records about the temple. About five inscriptions have been copied from this temple. There are others which are either mutilated or obliterated. There is one inscription on a slab built up in the parapet wall of Bhima Tīrtha. Even this has not been copied. Of those copied, the earliest is the stone pillar commemorating the Nisidika of Pullappa, the younger sister of Chāmunda Rāja who is guessed to be the minister of the Ganga kings Mārasimha II and Rāchamalla II who had set up the Jain colossus, Gōmatēśvara, at Sravana Belagola. This shows that the rite of Nisidika had been introduced even into the Kongu country by the Jains. The next is that of Kulothunga Chola, a Kongu Chola (1149-1163), of the date 1163 which records a gift of a land for offerings to Vīrasanghataperamballi of Vijiamangalam. The inscription gives the old name of this shrine and further informs us that the Jain shrines were called Palli during those days, a word familiar for such shrines during the Saiva revival. The third is a mutilated record of the year 1267 A.D. The fourth is that of the Vijianagar king Harihara Raja III dated 1412 A.D. The fifth has no date but registers endowments for various festivals. A glance at these inscriptions shows that this

Jain temple had been in a flourishing state between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. If the Rāchamalla theory were true then the temple dates back to a few centuries earlier. We find curiously enough that the Siva and Vishnu temples of the same place contain records of gifts to them during the same period. This fact reveals that the kings of the period were very tolerant towards Jainism and even endowed gifts to the Jain temples for their maintenance.

2. *Arasanamalai.*—This is a fine conical hill near the Railway road south of Vijiamangalam temple. In fact the two temples face each other. The deity on the hill was Nēmi Nātha. The temple fell in ruins and recently a Siva Sanyasi pulled the building down and threw the fine idol away and erected an ugly Siva temple near it. This is due to the non-registration of the temple under the Monuments Act. The Yakshi temple still stands but is on the point of crumbling down into ruins. The Yakshi Kushpanini is now in the Vijiamangalam temple. The temple is one with brick and mortar and no inscriptions are found in it.

3. *Sinapuram*.—Eight miles from Vijiamangalam. On the road side there is a small shrine with no imposing features. The deity is Ādīsvara. The image is a fine figure of about 2½ feet in height. *Kongumandala Sathakam* says that this was the birthplace of Pavanandi, the great Tamil Grammarian. This fact is not yet confirmed. It also indicates that this place was a great Jain centre the name itself smelling something of Jainism. There are, however, no traces of Jainism here now.

4. *Thingalore*.—Four miles from the former. The temple is in a garden. It is the second biggest among the six shrines contained in this list. The deity is Pushpanātha or Pushpadanta. The main figure is a small one while the Yaksha facing northwards is a big figure of three feet height named Brahma Yaksha with a small Tīrtankara on his crown. The temple has one inscription dated 1045 of the reign of Vikrama Chola Konathan, a Kongu Chola. It records the building of Mukhamandapa called Sandiravasadi. But the Siva and

Vishnu temples of this place are full of inscriptions of the Kongu Chola period in which Thingalore is called Chandrapuri. About a mile from this place there is the famous temple of Appichimar Matam, a very rich temple which attracts considerable crowds of devotees. Some guess that the shrine might have had some connection with Jainism.

5. *Vellodu.*—Three miles south of Perundurai Railway Station. The temple is a small ruined one. The deity is Ādīsvara.

6. *Pundurai.*—Four miles from the former, towards the east. Here also the temple is a small one without any pretensions. The deity's name is Parsanātha. The deity is a seated figure about 2½ feet high. There are no inscriptions in the temple. The neighbouring temples of Siva and Vishnu are huge and rich. There is one Jain Brahman who officiates in both these temples.

The Jain priest of Vijiamangalam says that there was another Jain temple at Palankarai near Avanashi and that it cannot be traced now. The Jain families of Kongu now existing are Kanarese-speaking ones and must have immigrated to this country from the Mysore State where they have relations even now. The Jain influence of the Pallava dynasty would not have extended towards Kongu as the latter was Tamilian in speech and race.

In one respect the Jains have influenced the Kongu land permanently. It is in literature. The Jains were generally scholars and they mastered the language of whichever country they immigrated to. They influenced and aided a great deal the development of Telugu and Kanarese literatures. Similarly the Tamil literature was at one stage under their patronage. The great grammars and lexicons in Tamil are their productions. The literary activities of Kongu Nadu were under their hands. Though small in number they cultivated literary taste and by their works they acquired a name for Kongu in the growth of Tamil literature. *Kongu Vel Ma Kadai*, the Tamil version of *Brihatkatha*, was their work by the famous poet Kongu Vel who lived at Vijiamangalam more

than a dozen centuries ago. The latest poet among them was Karmega Kavi who lived at the same place and compiled *Kongumandala Sathakam* and thereby preserved all the folktales of Kongu, to posterity. The rhetorician Gunaveera Pandita, the grammarian Pavanandi and the commentator Adiyarkunallar are attributed to this land. From the names of this hierarchy of great scholars we can safely conclude that the Jains of Kongu Nadu were to a great extent responsible for bringing a status for the land in the field of literature. Their influence has made Vijiamangalam as one of the great twenty-four Jain centres on earth.

# TABOO AMONG THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES OF TRAVANCORE

By L. A. Krishna Iyer, M.A.

Taboos, according to Freud, are ancient prohibitions which at one time were forced upon a generation of primitive people from without, that is, they probably were forcibly impressed upon them by an earlier generation. These prohibitions concerned actions for which there existed a strong desire. This view is not shared by Crawley, as it appears to be improbable ethnologically as it does physiologically.[1] Taboo forms the basis of society among the primitive peoples of Travancore. It exists among them in all its pristine strength and forms a good example of the religious character of early society. The primitive conception of danger, so characteristic of early ritual, appears in two forms, the predication of evil influences and the imposition of taboos. These appear with greater force with persons at their sexual crisis, that is, at puberty, during menstrual periods, pregnancy, and after child-birth. All contacts are contagious. The avoidance of contact is the most prominent feature attached to cases of taboo, when its dangerous character is obvious. In fact, the connotation of 'not to be touched' is the salient feature of taboo all over the world.

*Puberty.*—At puberty, it is a wide-spread custom that neither sex may see the other. "With the approach of puberty, the sexual question appears, which emphasizes the separation, both natural and taboo, and, at the ceremonies of initiation, boys are formally taken away from the mother's sphere and female associations. The danger now enhanced by a new instinct produces the very common custom that from this time boys may not sleep even in the house or with the family. A common form of this custom is the institution of public buildings which combine the features of a dormitory and a club for the use of young men, so that

[1] Ernest Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 77.

they may not see nor have any association with females."[2] Such dormitories exist among the Muthuvans and Mannāns. Contact with women is dangerous, causing weakness and effeminacy.

"The motive for the restraints so commonly imposed on girls at puberty is the deeply engrained dread which primitive man entertains of menstruous blood. He fears it at all times, but especially on its first appearance; hence the restrictions under which women lie at their first menstruation are usually more stringent than those which they observe at any subsequent recurrence of the mysterious flow."[3] The maiden at puberty must not see males nor be seen by them, nor have any association with them, first for their own safety, because it is the male sex in the abstract which causes her trouble and danger, because contagion from them is dangerous, secondly for the safety of the men who by contagion of her accentuated femininity would be injured. It is the dangerous results of the association with the other sex that is guarded against. To obviate this danger, a girl at puberty is lodged in a seclusion-shed about 100 yards from the main hut for sixteen days among the Malapantārams. The period varies from three days among the Muthuvans, to four days among the Mannâns and Malavētans, seven days among the Malayarayans, the Vishavans, and Malankuravans, fourteen days among the Malapulayas and fifteen days among the Paliyans. The seclusion-shed is from fifty feet away from the hut among the Vishavans to about 100 yards among the Malapantārams.

The Vishavan girl at puberty bathes twice a day unseen by men and then alone is served with food. Elephants and wild animals may damage the crops, if this injunction is broken. The Muthuvan girl at puberty remains beyond the gaze of the men in a seclusion-shed for three days. Among the Paliyans, a girl is lodged in a seclusion-shed for fifteen days. During day time, she keeps indoors and avoids the sun. I am

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[2] Ernest Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 185.

[3] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, p. 603,

not sure whether this has any relation to the idea that the sun can cause inpregnation, as Frazer would suggest. She moves freely at night. On the sixteenth day, she bathes and returns home with a pan of water on her hand. She cooks rice in this pan, which is served to all the women of the hamlet. She is then free from pollution. A Mannān girl at puberty remains in the seclusion-shed for four days. On the fifth day she bathes, and a new cloth is presented to her. She again remains in seclusion for four days at home, so that there may be no harm to anybody.

Among the Ūrālis, when a girl attains puberty, she is lodged in a remote tree-house reserved for the purpose for seven to twelve days, until the menstrual discharge ceases. If it ceases after seven days, she bathes on the eighth day. She then moves on to a second tree-house in the vicinity, and remains there in seclusion for two days. On the third day she bathes and returns home when seven jack leaf spoonfuls of cowdung mixed with water and oil are poured over her head by her uncle and brothers in front of the hut. According to Crawley, an analogous custom is said to prevail among the Veddas of Travancore,[4] but the writer cannot find any corroboration to this view.

The Thandapulaya girl at puberty remains in the seclusion-shed for fourteen days, when she has to cook her own food in a new earthenware vessel. She bathes on the fifteenth day before sunrise and goes home where she is made to sit facing east. A medicine-man stands on each side and sings. The girl gets possessed, and swings her head backwards and forwards to the tune of beating on a bell-metal vessel. The girl faints after some time when she is given tender cocoanut water and she recovers. Pollution then ceases. Among the Chīngannivētans, pollution lasts for nine days. Ten pots of water are poured over the head of the girl by the aunt, both morning and evening. On the tenth day, the girl bathes in a stream and wears a new cloth. She is then taken home

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[4] Ernest Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 53.

when cowdung water is sprinkled over the hut and compound. The girl makes a mark of cowdung on the forehead of all those present, and presents each with a bowl of gruel. Pollution then ceases.

*Menstruation.*—According to Pliny, the touch of a menstruous woman turned vine into vinegar, blighted crops, killed seedlings, blasted gardens, brought down the fruit from the tree........The object of secluding women at menstruation is to neutralise the dangerous influences which are supposed to emanate from them at such times.[5]

The Malapantārams regard women in menstruation as being in a mysterious religious state which necessitates the imposition of restrictions and safeguards. A woman in menstruation remains in a seclusion-shed for seven days. It is about 100 yards from the hut. Women alone keep company. During this period the husband is forbidden to ascend a hill or climb a tree for gathering honey. He should keep indoors and should not handle any implements. Woe befalls him if he acts differently. The mode of removing contagion is purification by bath at the end of the period of pollution. It is said that, when Kattayan's brother was going with his uncle and three others among whom there was a woman in menses, she was snatched away by a tiger near Atchencoil.

The separation of the sexes is most prominent among the Ūrālis of the High Ranges. A woman during monthly periods remains secluded in a tree-house remote from their habitations until discharge ceases. The husband cannot approach the tree-house, but he sends her provisions. When discharge ceases, she bathes and goes to a second tree-house in the vicinity. She remains there for two days. On the third day, she bathes and goes home.

The separation of the sexes during menstruation is a characteristic feature of all the hill-tribes of Travancore. To the primitive man, menstruous women are dangerous. "The obvious vehicle of contagion is blood." To seclude them from

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[5] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, p. 606.

the world so that the dreaded danger shall neither reach them nor spread from them, is the object of the taboos which they have to observe. These taboos act as electrical insulators to preserve the spiritual force with which these persons are charged from suffering or inflicting harm by contact with the outer world.[6]

*Child-birth.*—Among primitive people, the phenomena of birth and disease partake of the mysterious and supernatural, and our ancestors sought to protect themselves from the operation of such contagious forces by a system of isolation and taboo.[7] Since pregnancy and child-birth sometimes cost a woman her life and nearly involves a certain amount of weakness and suffering, they seek to protect themselves from that contagion. Like the Bribri Indians, the Malapantārams regard the pollution of child-birth as much more dangerous than that of menstruation. When a woman feels that the time is approaching, she informs her husband who makes haste to put up a shed for her in a lonely spot about two or three hundred yards away from the hut. Pollution lasts for sixteen days. During this period, her husband cannot do any work. He keeps indoors. He cannot go out for hunting or gathering honey. Chidambaram tells me that, when once his father's brother went out to procure food after his wife's delivery, he was attacked by a bear which bit him on his loin and hand. One Narayanan climbed a tree for gathering honey, but he fell down and collapsed.

At child-birth, a woman is taboo among the Ūrālis. When a woman is about to become a mother, she goes to the tree-house remote from the habitation. She is not even assisted by women in delivery. They give instructions at a distance. Even after delivery, women do not approach her and render any help. Pollution lasts for twenty-one days. During this period, the husband refrains from doing any work. She bathes on the twenty-second day and goes home.

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6 Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, p. 223.

7 Ralph De Pomerai, *Marriage, Past, Present and Future*, p. 36.

Among the other hill-tribes, the separation of the sexes is prominent during child-birth and a woman is lodged in a seclusion-shed. Pollution lasts from seven days among the Paliyans, sixteen days among the Ulladans and the Kanikars, to thirty days among the Muthuvans.

One of the reasons why the actual birth of a child and menstruation are considered dangerous is because blood is regarded as the life force, it being held that the soul or spirit is in the blood, and as it is believed that, "because of her fertility, a woman is more highly charged with this mystical force than a man, the slightest contact with feminine blood is regarded with utmost horror."[8] During menstruation and child-birth, women actually suffer from physical sickness. Hence man will dread being infected with these disabilities.

It may be observed that the main line of development of ritual is from insulation of evil influences to the conciliation of beneficent powers. The dangers feared are insulated during the process of the function as is the natural course, then at the end of the function, the expulsion of the danger is performed for the last time, and is of a purificatory character. The practice of performing the chief ceremony at the end of a functional crisis is more sure of continuance, because the danger is then usually over, and the ceremony cannot be easily discredited.

*Relation of Taboo to Agriculture.*—The sway of customs looks more powerful among people in earlier stages of culture. The Ullātans lead a pure life during the period of early agricultural operations from December to April. Since they remain in the domain of Sāsta and other hill-deities, they abstain from all sexual intercourse. It is said that a man once touched his wife in menses, and went to hoe up the soil. He lost his eyes. It is also said that the shadow of such a man falling on a crop in the field will not only blight the crop but will also be detrimental to life. Similarly, a woman should not enter to paddy fields after new moon in Karkādagom. They are not allowed

[8] Ralph De Pomerai, *Marriage, Past, Present and Future*, p. 37.

to touch the crop lest their touch should blight it. The Malayarayans also abstain from sexual intercourse with their wives from November to January. It is deemed that an elephant or tiger may cross their path and some mishap may arise if this taboo is not honoured. If a woman in menses goes near the workspot, the yield during the year will be poor. She has to observe seclusion for seven days. The Cheruvētans lead a pure life in March, August and September as any action to the contrary will imperil their crops. Among the Ūrālis, a man does not mate with his wife for three days after jungle-clearing is started. Should a man approach a woman before cessation of menses, crops are blighted and disease does great harm to the village. A Malapantāram avoids sexual intercourse with his wife the night previous to going for hunting. The idea seems to be that, while contact with women transmits female weakness, the retention of the secretion in which strength is supposed to reside assures vigour and strength. It is feared that some mishap will arise if this injunction is broken.

The religion of primitive man betrays many instances of taboo. The Malapantāram, the most backward of the hill-tribes, takes a bath in a stream if he gets polluted, and then alone gets into the jungle. If he fails to do so, he incurs the wrath of the Gods who punish him with sickness. "The idea seems to be that a man who has been on a journey may have contracted some magic evil from the strangers with whom he has associated. Hence on returning home, before he is admitted into the society of his tribe and friends, he has to undergo certain purificatory ceremonies."[9] Women are excluded from religious worship and festivals among the Paliyans and the Malapulayas, as they are considered impure and their presence would imperil crops. Among the Malapulayas a man refrains from any sexual intercourse with his wife for ten days prior to any ceremony performed in honour of any deity. Similarly, as the Malayarayan, the Ullātan, and the Malavētan have to move in the domain of Sāsta

[9] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, p. 197.

and other hill-deities, they refrain from sexual intercourse from January to April. "Man's superstitious fears are found to be in the exact ratio of his ignorance." His whole world swarms with evil beings. Unless propitiated, they endanger the produce of his labours in the field. Danger is supposed to inhere in the strange and unknown. Every thicket, every watering place, and all rocky places abound with evil spirits. Man needs to walk warily in these circumstances and he seeks to protect himself by the observance of prohibitions and by making offerings to them.

# HINDU INFLUENCE IN THE PHILIPINES

By M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The Philipine Archipelago lies to the south of Japan in the Pacific Ocean. Beginning from the north and proceeding south the bigger islands of the archipelago are :—Luzon, Mindaro, Masbate, Palawan, Panay, Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Leyete, Samar, Sulu, Mindanoa, Sangir, etc. To the modern world the history of the islands begins with their discovery in 1521 A.D. by Ferdinand Megellan. But behind that date lies a long history which the world has forgotten and in which forgotten history Indian emigrants played a conspicuous part.

The earliest evidence of Indian overland intercourse with the east is to be found in an ancient Chinese work called *Tchou Shu*, wherein it is said that some ambassadors arrived at the court of the second king of the Tchou dynasty called Tcheng Weng in the beginning of the eleventh century B.C. from a place in Yunan, bringing with them a monkey from a country where it was called "kudung" (குரங்கு).[1] This ancient embassy was apparently a South Indian one. According to Terrien de Lacouperie (who has investigated the subject from Chinese sources) the maritime intercourse of India with China dates from about 680 B.C. when "the sea traders of the Indian Ocean" whose "chiefs were Hindus" founded a colony called Lang-ga (after the name Lanka of Ceylon) somewhere near the modern Gulf of Kiao-tchou.[2] Herodotus (III. 99) refers to the cannibalistic practices of an Indian people called Paday living in the east. Scholars competent to speak on the subject identify the Paday with the Batta, Batay or Battaks of Sumatra, as Herodotus' account corresponds very minutely with the customs attributed to this Sumatran tribe.[3] Since Herodotus (who lived in about 500 B.C.) reckons the Batay (*i.e.*, Battak) as an Indian people, Sumatra must have passed under Indian domination

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[1] T. de Lacouperie, *Western Origin of Chinese Civilisation*, p. 38.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 106, 385.

[3] *Essays relating to Indo-China*, First Series, Vol. I, pp. 113-114.

before 500 B.C. Indians could not have founded a colony on the Chinese coast or held domination over Sumatra unless they had built ships for trading and other purposes. Radhakumud Mookerji has collected all the evidence available on the subject in his interesting book the *History of Indian Shipping*. Mookerji's book reveals the Indians as a maritime people from ancient times. Ancient Hindus used the mariners' compass* in their ships. For, the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII, Part II, Appendix remarks that "The Hindu compass was an iron fish that floated in a vessel of oil and pointed to the north. The fact of this older Hindu compass seems placed beyond doubt by the Sanskrit word Maccha-yantra or fish machine, which Molesworth gives as the name for the mariners' compass."[4] From the log-book of a Greek mariner of the first century A.D. called the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* we see that Indians used five kinds of vessels for trading purposes:—Madratæ, Trappagæ, Kotymbæ, Sangaræ and Kolandiophantæ: the last two of which were apparently used by them for voyages to Malay Archipelago and China.[5] In the early centuries of the Christian era there was a good deal of intercourse between India and China. Fa Hien who came to India in about 400 A.D. to study Buddhism embarked at Tamralipiti in Bengal in an Indian ship and after reaching Sumatra or Java travelled with Brahmans on his return to China.[6] Gunavarman, the famous Indian missionary, in his voyage to China in 424 A.D. went in an Indian merchant ship called *Nan-ti* (Nandi).[7] Ship *Nan-ti* must have been of the type Sangaræ or Kolandiophantæ mentioned by the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. According to Bikshuni Nidana a ship called *Nandi* again took in 433 A.D. to China a party of Singhalese nuns who established the order

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* The use of the mariners' compass by Indians proves them to have made distant sea-voyages.

4 R. Mookerji, *History of Indian Shipping*, p. 48, fn.

5 T. de Lacouperie, *Western Origin of Chinese Civilisation*, p. 260.

6 R. C. Dutt's *Civilisation of Ancient India*, Vol. II, pp. 60-61.

7 P. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 78.

of nuns in that country.[8] Though their names are lost to us now, many an other Indian ship like *Nan-ti* of the type of Sangaræ and Kolandiophantæ must have ploughed the eastern seas in days of old carrying those emigrants that spread Indian culture and religion in Burmah, Malacca, Siam, Cochin China (Cambodia), Anam (Champa) and Malay Archipelago. As Indians took to trade from ancient times, as pearls, coral and gold were available in the Philipines,[9] as these islands lie about the same route to China from India and as Indians had established colonies in Burmah, Malacca, Siam, Cochin China, Anam and Malay Archipelago, Indians from the mother country as well as from the said colonies must have gone to the Philipines at some unknown date to settle there.

From the time of their discovery by Megellan till 1899 the Philipines remained a Spanish possession. In that year (1899) as a result of war with the United States of America the latter became the masters of the Philipines. Owing to religious bigotry, the Spanish friars wantonly destroyed many an ancient manuscript that would have been useful to us for a study of the antiquities of the islands.[10] It is only of late that efforts have been made by the Americans to understand the past history of these islands. Of their early history, therefore, we know very little. Scattered hints here and there are the only information available to us at the present. With the help of these scattered hints we must construct the story.

When did the Hindus go to the Philipines? Borneo lies immediately to the south of the Philipine archipelago. In another article I have said that Kutei, Banjarmasin and Brunei were colonial Indian states in the east, south and west of ancient Borneo and that well-attested monuments reveal Maharaja Mulavarman as ruling Kutei in east Borneo as early as

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[8] R. Mookerji, *History of Indian Shipping*, p. 165.

[9] J. Crawfurd, *Dictionary of Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries*, pp. 330-337; J. Moor's *Notices of Indian Archipelago*, App. pp. 31, 53.

[10] *History of the Orient* by Steiger, Beyer and Benitez, p. 124, fn. 1, *Essays relating to Indo-China*, First Series, Vol. I, p. 121.

400 A.D. Traditions collected by J. Hunt show that a "Putri" (as princesses were known in Borneo) was sent from Banjarmasin to marry the principal chief of the Sulu island and that an immense number of settlers accompanied her to work the submarine riches there.[11] Some manuscripts preserved in the Panay island indicate that some Datos (nobles) from the court of Brunei (owing to enmity with the Raja) went away from Panay in days gone by; that while some settled in Panay, others went further north and settled in the south of the island Luzon.[12] Certain scattered finds in the way of coins, etc., as well as jewelry and images that have been secured around the Manilla Bay regions indicate a decided Indian influence from an Indo-Chinese source too.[13]

We are not yet in a position to give exact dates for many of these events. All this appears to have taken place in the early centuries of the Christian era. As a result, Hindu influence is noticeable in Sangir islands, Sulu group, Mindanoa, Mindaro, Panay, small islands lying between Panay and Batangas coast and Manilla Bay region.[14] Faint Hindu influences seem to have radiated further east from the Philipines and reached even Marianne islands that lie far deep in the Pacific Ocean between 13–25° N. latitude and 145–150° N. longitude. For, the Indian habit of oil-bath had spread to these far away islands.[15]

Hinduism once prevailed in these regions and God Siva was worshipped. Crawfurd says that "He (Siva) is the Batara Guru of the Javanese and Malays and the Batala of the Philipine islanders. Batara is an obvious corruption of the Sanskrit Avatara and guru is spiritual guide."[16] Batala is a further corrupted form of Batara.

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[11] Moor's *Notices of Indian Archipelago*, App. p. 31.

[12] *History of the Orient* by Steiger, etc., p. 120.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 193, 195, 196.

[15] J. Crawfurd's *Dictionary of Indian Islands*, p. 268.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 404.

J. Hunt (who visited the islands in about 1814) says: "Upon the antiquities and curiosities, I must be very short. There are stone images innumerable in the interior of Sulo (Sulu) and the other islands, with other slender antiquities, but I really forget the particulars; there is one with several arms, several human figures with snouts of elephants, a dying warrior as large as life in recumbent posture. At a place called Batu, the back of Sulo or Sug, there are ruins with stone images innumerable, most probably the lost relics of Hindu idolatry.....Similar vestiges of Hindu worship (I was credibly informed at Manilla) are to be seen in various parts of Luconia; not a doubt can exist that this was the prevailing religion all over these isles antecedent to the introduction of Islam. I think Abbe Reynal, Sonnerat and some other writers notice this."[17]

Archæological explorations of the Philipines made since then has brought out a great many objects of Hindu origin. Particularly interesting are the images of bronze and copper and one famous image of gold. Several of these images from Cebu and eastern Mindanoa represent the Hindu god Siva.[18] The famous image of gold referred to before is little more than 8 inches in height and is of pure gold with a bullion value of more than 2,000 dollars. An account of this image is published in the *Quarterly Report of the Netherlands—India Archæological Survey* for the third quarter of 1921. A picture of this image is given in page 197 of the *History of the Orient* by Steiger, Beyer and Benitez.

Elephants imported from Borneo according to tradition existed in Sulu in former times and were used for religious purposes as in our country now.[19] Women of the Sulu used to tie their hair *a la conde* on the fore part of their head[20] apparently like Malayali women. The arts and industries of the

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17 J. Moor's *Notices of Indian Archipelago*, App. p. 38.

18 *History of the Orient* by Steiger, etc., p. 197.

19 J. Moor's *Notices of Indian Archipelago*, p. 45.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

people, especially in their weaving and metal work, show Hindu influence. The study of the ancient jewelry is a very interesting subject as it brings out particularly the extent of Hindu influence. Bolo handles of pure Hindu design are to be found in Cebu, Bohol and Leyete.[21] In commercial matters too there was Hindu influence. Many of the old names for money used in the Philipine languages are of Indian origin as well as most of the names of weights and volumes.[22] Recent study of the ancient pre-Spanish workings of gold mines of the Philipines shows that the miners used "what is known as the Indian quick lime method, rather than the Chinese gun-powder method of excavating rock."[23] The old syllabic alphabet is of Hindu origin. The root of the Sulu language, says Foreman, is Sanskrit mixed with Arabic. The following selected list of words from the Tagalog language of the Philipines as found in Abbe Favre's dictionary would testify to the influence of the Sanskrit in the Philipine islands.

| Talaga or Tagalog | Sanskrit | English |
|---|---|---|
| Sandig | Sandhi | Unite |
| Dila | Lih | Lick |
| Masa | Masa | Time |
| Sandana | Chandana | Sandal |
| Kastoli | Kasturi | Musk |
| Oling | Angara | Charcoal |
| Sutla | Sutra | Thread |
| Nalago | Argha | Price |
| Laba | Labha | Gain |
| Laksa | Laksha | Lakh |
| Amas | Mas (to measure) | Gold weight, etc. |
| Tambaga | Tamra | Copper |
| Tinga | Tivra | Tin |
| Kasa | Kacha | Clay and Bule Stone |
| Gadya | Gaja | Elephant (Crawfurd) |

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21 *History of the Orient* by Steiger, etc., p. 196.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 199.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 195.

| Talaga or Tagalog | Sanskrit | English |
|---|---|---|
| Palapati | Parapati | Pigeon |
| Champaka | Champaka | Champaka |
| Tual | Tala | .... |
| Dambo | Jambu | .... |
| Kusuba | Kusumba | .... |
| Jinta | Chinta | Thought |
| Asa | Asa | Hope |
| Kota | Kuta | Fort |
| Pana | Bana | Arrow |
| Kalis | Krit (to cut) | (Kriss) |
| Saksi | Sakshi | Witness |
| Dupan | Dupa | Incense |

Sri Vijaya was a colonial Indian kingdom that once existed in Sumatra. It had friendly as well as hostile relations with the Cholas of South India.[24] It was a powerful sea-power.[25] A map of the extent of its maritime empire is given in page 113 of the *History of the Orient* by Steiger. Its northern frontier lay in the middle of Formosa. The Bisayana (Vijayans) of Formosa and Philipines were emigrants of Sri Vijaya of Sumatra. Stanford in speaking of the language of the Bisayans of the Philipines says that their language is akin to Tagalog and adds that they had a peculiar alphabet formerly now unused. The Tagalog system still to be found is based (like others according to Dr. Keane) upon the archaic Devanagari of the Asokan inscriptions, though now departing greatly from that type in form. The Tabuanas of Palawan who appear to be allied to the Bisayans, it appears, still use a very similar system of writing. The Hindu method of writing upon Palmyra leaves with an iron style seems to have been introduced also among the Tagalogs.[26] A picture of a love letter in the Mangyan script of the Philipines of Indian origin is given in page 123 of the

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24 Taw Sein Ko, *Burmese Sketches*, pp. 78, 81.

25 *History of the Orient* by Steiger, etc., p. 112.

26 *Essays relating to Indo-China*, First Series, Vol. I, p. 117.

*History of the Orient.* Hindu influence is noticeable in the old calendars as well.

Raja and Maharaja are the regal titles assumed by the chiefs and kings, in all these lands, while the queen is called Rani and the heir-apparent Rajamuda. All the nobles assume the title of Datu or Dato[27] which is the Sanskrit term meaning father. The name of the political assembly is known as Ruma-bechara,[28] *i.e.*, the place where vicharana is held. Priests including those of the Mahomedans are called Pandita and that is the common word used in Mindanoa as well as Palawan.

We find in the *History of the Ming Dynasty of China* (1368-1643) the following regarding these islands: "In the year 1417 the eastern king of the country (Sulu) Paduka-Pa-Ha-La, the western king Ma-Ha-Lach'ih, and the king of the mountain Ka-La-Ba-Ting called Paduka Prabhu brought their families, and their chiefs....in order to carry their tribute" to the emperor of China.[29] Groeneveldt, a Dutch Orientalist who has done much to examine Chinese records, says that Ma-Ha-Lach'ih stands for Maharaja; the three kings that went to China in 1417 hence bore Hindu names. The name of the daughter of the Sulu chief that was married to the Sultan of Borneo in the fourteenth century was putri Miranchini.[30] The name of the king of a state in the Philipines, who attacked the Spaniards in the sixteenth century was Sri Kala and the name of the beautiful woman whom he used as a decoy to draw out the lustful Spaniards before attacking them was Paramassuri (Paramesvari).[31] Paduka Sri Sultan Bantilan was the name of a chief in the eighteenth century[32] : note the assumption of a Sanskrit title (Sri) by a Mahomedan Sultan. The name of the chief that wanted to make a treaty with the British representative

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[27] J. Crawfurd's *Dictionary of Indian Islands*, p. 280.
[28] J. Moor's *Notices of Indian Archipelago*, App. p. 36.
[29] *Essays relating to Indo-China*, Second Series, p. 225.
[30] J. Moor's *Notices of Indian Archipelago*, App. p. 32.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

in 1814 was Dato Adanan (Tatha Adiannan).[33] The names of some of the members of the Executive Council of the Sultan of Sulu in 1814 were Datu Bandahara, Datu Maharaja Dinda, Laximina (Lakshumana).[34] At about the same time lived the following persons :— Maharaja Palwan was an important personage of the town of Lagasan.[35] Chief of Sabahan was Datu Sapindan.[36] Laximina Daman was the chief of Bait Bait, Laximana Pala of Baivisan and Laximana Dahman of Pulo Kaimangan.[37] Dr. Vogel in his interesting book on "The Relation of the Art of India and Java" (pp. 6–7) in speaking of the personal names of the Javanese observes that "side by side with names of Arabic origin, we may even say in preference to them, the members of the Javanese nobility bear Sanskritic names like Suryaputra and Suryavinata, the pronunciation having only slightly modified owing to change of accent and a more *o*-like colouring of the '*a*' vowel. A young Javanese scholar attached to the Leyden University (Holland) has the very appropriate name of Sostrovidogda, *i.e.*, Sanskrit *Sastravidagda*, lit. 'versed in the Scriptures'. With regard to the proper names it is interesting to note that, although they are manifestly composed of Sanskrit elements, they are different, as far as I know from any personal names nowadays used in India proper. We may say that the existence of such names is, no doubt, primarily due to Hindu influences, but in their present form they are the outcome of a prolonged independent development." Dr. Vogel's remarks would apply equally to Philipine names like Dato Adanan, Datu Sapindan, etc. When J. Hunt visited the Philipines in 1814 he met several of these colonial Indians. For says he : "At Solon Solon, in the province of Hocas, I met several of the unconverted Indians, very much of the appearance of the Hindus in their dress, ornaments, etc. The padri of the district informed me these people

[33] J. Moor's *Notices of Indian Archipelago*, p. 36.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

were of the Hindu persuasion and that neither force nor persuasion had as yet helped the Spaniards to convert them from their idolatrous worship."[38]

The following are the names of some of the towns in the Philipines :—Matanda (Martanda), Siktan (Sikastana), Pulapata (Palaya-Pettai), Kansipat (Kansi Pettai), Balabak (Bala Pakkam), Ayutaya[39] (Ayodhya), Calapan (Kala-parna), Cotaobatao (Kottai Pettai), Masbate (Mahesa Pettai), Naga (*i.e.* serpent).

Dravidians were great sea rovers. Scholars who have been studying the subject have noted Sanskrit words alone in the languages of the Philipines. But I notice Tamil words too to be incorporated in the languages of the islands. Sulu island was called by the natives Banjar Kulan meaning Banjar the little [40] : Kulan is apparently the Tamil term Kullan (குள்ளன்), little. Pula Pata, Kansipat, Balabak Cotaobatao and Masbate were obviously place names given by Tamil emigrants. Dato Adanan (Tatha Adiannan), the Chief that wanted to make a treaty with the British in 1814, was no doubt the descendent of a Tamil Raja of the Philipines. A closer study of the personal names and languages of the islands will show how much Tamil had influenced them along with Sanskrit.

Hindu influence in fact is everywhere distinguishable in social life and in the religious practices of the people of the archipelago. In giving a summary of Hindu influence, this is what the said *History of the Orient* by Steiger (p. 200) observes :—" The Indian culture made itself felt most strongly in the political, social and religious life of the population among whom it spread. Its material influence was relatively less important, except perhaps in the metal workings and in the art of war, though modes of dress and of personal ornamentation

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[38] J. Moor's *Notices of Indian Archipelago*, App. p. 38.
[39] J. Crawfurd's *Dictionary of Indian Islands*, p. 79.
[40] J. Moor's *Notices of Indian Archipelago*, p. 31.

were also greatly affected. At the time of the Spanish discovery not only were the more civilized Philipinos using the Indian syllabaries for writing, but their native mythology, folklore and written literature all had a distinct Indian cast. The same was true of their code of laws and their names for all sorts of political positions and procedures. The more cultured Philipine languages contain many Sanskrit words, and the native art a noticeable sprinkling of Indian design. A strong Brahministic religious element was also certainly introduced, although it seems to have affected chiefly a limited class, as the mass of the people still clung to their more ancient pagan worship.

"A long list of similarities in minor traits and customs might be cited, but in the main these would serve to emphasise the general statements already made. With the exception of the recent European culture, the Indian influences are on the whole the most profound that have affected Philipine civilization."[41]

As the Indians were the first in the field, they appear to have been instrumental in raising the people of the Philipine and Malayan archipelago from a primitive to a civilized state. As the study of the antiquity of these islands is still in its initial stage, we are not yet in a position to give a connected account of the story of the Hindu colonization of the Philipines in a comprehensive manner. But the information given above is sufficient to show what deep hold Indian influence took in those far-off islands.

[41] *History of the Orient* by Steiger, etc., p. 200.

# THE YAUDHEYAS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By Dr. Bimalachurn Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.T.

The Yaudheyas were a republican tribe as old as the age of Pāṇini, the celebrated grammarian. They maintained their tribal organization as late as the fourth century A.D. about which time they are referred to in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta along with other republican tribes, *e.g.*, the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Madrakas, Ābhīras and others. They were also known as such in the sixth century A.D. as we learn from the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira.

But the earliest reference to the tribe is probably made in Pāṇini. In "na prācya Bhargādi Yaudheyādibhyaḥ" (IV.I. 178), the term "Yaudheyādi" includes the two tribes, the Yaudheyas and the Trigarttas. Elsewhere in the sūtras (V. 3. 117), the Yaudheyas, counting of course the Trigarttas with them, are referred to as forming an "Āyudha jīvi Saṁgha" or a tribal republican organization depending mainly on arms, *i.e.*, a warrior tribe. But the historical tradition of the tribe goes still earlier. The Purāṇas[1] refer to the Yaudheyas as having been descended from Uśīnara. The *Harivaṁśa* too connects the Yaudheyas with the Uśīnaras (*Harivaṁśa*, Ch. 32, *cf.* also Pargiter, *Mark. P.*, p. 380). Pargiter thinks that King Uśīnara established separate kingdoms on the eastern border of the Punjab, namely, those of the Yaudheyas, Ambaṣṭhas, Navarāṣṭra, and the city of Kṛmila; and his famous son Śivi Auśīnara originated the Śivis in Śivapura (*A.I.H.T.*, p. 264). That the Yaudheyas were settled in the Punjab is also proved by their association with the Trigarttas, Ambaṣṭhas and the Śivis. In the *Mahābhārata* (Drona Parva, Ch. 18, 16; Karna Parva, Ch. 5, 48) the Yaudheyas are described as being defeated by Arjuna along with the Mālavas and Trigarttas. In the Sabha Parva (Ch. 52, 14-15) the Yaudheyas along with

[1] *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, III, Ch. 74; *Vāyu P.*, Ch. 99; *Brahma P.*, Ch. 13; *Matsya P.*; Ch. 48; *Vis. P.*, Ch. 17, etc.

the Śivis, Trigarttas and Ambaṣṭhas are represented as having assembled and paid their homage to Yudhiṣṭhira. Elsewhere in the Great Epic (Drona Parva, Ch. 159, 5) the tribe is mentioned along with the Adrijas (=the Adraistai of the Greeks ?), Madrakas and Mālavas (Yaudheyānadrijān rājan Madrakān Mālavānapi).

The *Bṛhat Samhitā* places the Yaudheyas along with the Ārjunāyanas in the northern division of India. " They may have been connected with the Pandoouoi or Pāṇḍava tribe mentioned by Ptolemy as settled in the Punjab (*Ind. Ant.*, XIII. 331, 349). Yaudheya appears as the name of a son of Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Mahābhārata* (Ādi Parva, Ch. 95, 76)"[2]

Cunningham identifies the Yaudheyas with the Johiya Rajputs and the country of Yaudheyas with Johiyabar (= Yaudheya-wāra), the district round Multan. The Johiyas, he points out, are divided into three tribes ; and he finds a strong confirmation of his identification in the fact that in the coins of the Yaudheya clan there can be traced the existence of three different tribes. These coins are of three classes, of which the first bears the simple inscription "Jaya Yaudheya-gaṇasya" that is, (money) " of the victorious Yaudheya tribe". The second class has " dvi " at the end of the legend, and the third has " tri " which I take to be contractions for " dvitīyasya " and " tṛtīyasya ", or second and third, as the money of the second and third tribes of the Yaudheyas. As the coins are found to the west of the Satlej....it is almost certain that they belong to the Johiyas who now occupy the line of the Satlej, and who are still to be found in Sirsa as late as the time of Akbar. (*A.G.I.*, pp. 281-282).[3]

The Yaudheyas are also mentioned in the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman[4] where the Śaka King boasts of having " rooted out the Yaudheyas ". They are known from the Bijayagaḍh Stone inscription (*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 250-51)

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[2] Ray Chaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 2nd Ed., p. 342.

[3] Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 14, Plate III and Notes.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 36 ff.

to have occupied the Bijayagaḍh region of the Bharatpur State.[5] It probably shows that this powerful clan by this time extended their influence very far to the south, otherwise they would not have come into collision with the Śaka Satrap. But the tide of Scythian invasion could not sweep away this tribal republic which survived at least up to the time of Samudragupta. In the Allahabad Pillar inscription of this powerful Gupta monarch, the Yaudheyas are included in the list of the tribal states who paid him homage. They were the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Ābhiras, Prārjunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas and Kharaparikas—all situated "on the western and south-western fringe of Āryāvarta proper".[6]

[5] Paleographically the inscription is of an early date, the characters being of the so-called Indo-Scythic form. The leader of the Yaudheya tribe who is referred to in the inscription has been styled as Mahārāja and Mahāsēnāpati.

[6] Ray Chaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 2nd Ed., p. 342.

# SHAH JEHAN'S EMBASSY TO CHINA, 1656 A.D.

BY C. S. K. RAO SAHIB.

THE practice of sending embassies is so old that it looks absurd to say that the Mughal Emperors were no exception to this rule. With Persia the Mughal Empire's relations were intimate, and frequent embassies were exchanged between the two mighty powers of Asia. With Turkey her relationships were not so intimate as that with Persia. Central Asian States like Balkh and Badakshan sent embassies, often with gifts, and the Mughal Emperors sent return embassies to the potentates of Central Asia, their original home-land. Ethiopia sent an embassy to the Mughal Emperor, Aurangazeb. The Mughal Emperors did not recognize the independence of the Deccan Sultanates and would not even give the royal title of 'Shah' to the rulers of Bijapur and Golkonda. But it is rarely mentioned that Shah Jehan maintained diplomatic relationship with China. At least there is evidence of an embassy being sent to the first Manchu Emperor who had ousted the old reigning dynasty of Mings, a few years earlier, by the most magnificent of the Mughals.

This account of the Mughal Embassy is given by a Dutch traveller, Nieuhoff, in his "Embassy of Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer from the Dutch East India Company to the Emperor of China in 1655—by John Nieuhoff, steward to the ambassadors" which is translated from the Dutch and published in Pinkerton's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. VII.

John Nieuhoff, the steward of the Dutch ambassadors, was born at Uffen in the Earldom of Benthem, where his father, brother and brother-in-law were all Burgomasters. On 22nd July 1618, his brother writes that he was a comely person, of good understanding, good humoured and agreeable in his conversation, a great admirer of poesy, drawing and music. As he was fond of travelling he knew several languages.

In 1640 when he was a young man of twenty-two he entered the service of the West India Company and went to

Brazil where he stayed for nearly nine years. He returned to Holland and after a short stay in his home went again this time to the East Indies. It was on this occasion that he accompanied the ambassadors to Peking. He returned to Holland once again and in 1672 he undertook his third and last voyage. On the 29th September 1672 Nieuhoff landed at Antigoa bay and did not return. All search proved in vain and four years later a special yacht was sent to find out traces of the unfortunate man but the search proved in vain. Evidently he was murdered by the savages at Antigoa bay.

The Dutch as keen merchants wanted to trade with China which was a forbidden market. However, Martini, the Jesuit priest who had stayed a number of years in China, brought information that the Manchu Tartars who had supplanted the old Chinese dynasty had proclaimed free trade. This led the Dutch East India Company to send an embassy to the Chinese Capital and John Maatzuiker the Governor-General and the Council of India at Batavia were ordered to despatch an embassy whereon Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer, merchants, were chosen for that purpose. Their train consisted of 14 persons, namely, two merchants, six waiters, a steward (John Nieuhoff), a surgeon, two interpreters and two others. Their presents to the Emperor consisted of rich pieces of woollen cloth, fine linen, several sorts of spices, coral, little boxes of wax, perspective and looking glasses, swords, guns, feather, armour, etc. Their purpose was " to establish a firm league with the Emperor and obtain a free trade for the Dutch throughout his dominions." They set sail for Canton on the 14th June 1655 which they reached on the 29th July 1655. Here they had to stay till formal permission was granted to go to Peking and the ambassadors left Canton for Peking on 17th March 1656 which they reached on the afternoon of 17th July 1656.

On the 3rd of August 1656 Nieuhoff writes that they understood that " an ambassador from the Great Mogol was arrived at Peking with a numerous train ; in order to accommodate some differences lately arisen between two nations and procure liberty for their priests to preach which had for some time been

forbidden under severe penalties. The presents which he had brought consisted of 336 very fine horses, two ostriches, a diamond of an extraordinary bigness, and several other precious stones." "These being," adds Nieuhoff, "no less acceptable to His Majesty than those of the Dutch procured him a quick despatch in his business."

Nieuhoff does not say whether the Mughal Embassy came by the land route or the sea route. It is highly probable that they took the land route ; otherwise Canton being the only open port Nieuhoff would have heard of the embassy during his rather long stay of several months at Canton. If they took the land route it is probable the embassy must have left India at least a year previous to their reaching Peking, say some time in August 1655.

It looks rather strange that Shah Jehan who began the policy of temple destruction which culminated in the reign of his son and successor, who was himself a bigot should send an embassy to his Chinese brother to solicit permission to preach the 'faith'. It is probable that the embassy was sent to congratulate the new monarch on his accession to the throne of one of the mightiest powers of Asia.

The 25th of August 1656 was fixed for the audience with His Imperial Majesty but the sudden death of the Emperor's brother necessarily postponed the date. On the 1st of October 1656 the long-waited audience took place. Nieuhoff writes "the ambassador of the Great Mogol accompanied by five persons of honour and about twenty servants, came and placed himself next the Dutch ambassador." Here they were obliged to sit, in a courtyard, all night on the bare stones in the open air in expectation of His Majesty's appearance early in the morning on his throne—indeed a trying experience for Shah Jehan's grandee. When the Mughal ambassador intimated that his rank was that of a Viceroy, the Tu-sang or chamberlain placed him next the Dutch ambassador on the tenth stone of the twentieth. These stones were inlaid with plates of brass with Chinese characters on them indicating the quality of the person who was to stand or kneel upon them—

not a very high place for Shah Jehan's representative. Indeed Nieuhoff writes "that of all the foreign ambassadors that of South Tartary were held in most esteem at the court of Peking."

Whatever his position, the Mughal ambassador must have been a picturesque and imposing figure with his splendid retinue of servants and equipage. Nieuhoff says "The Mogol ambassador had a very costly blue coat on, that it looked like beaten gold: it reached almost to his knees and was girt about his waist with a silk girdle which had great tassels at both ends. He bore neat buskins of Turkey leather and a large turban of several colours."

What Shah Jehan got in return for his diamond and ostriches, whether he succeeded in his attempts to get permission to preach, Nieuhoff does not say. Maatzuiker the Governor-General received the Chinese equivalent of Khillat which consisted of 300 tael of silver, four pieces of damask, four pieces of black and four pieces of blue satin, four pieces of cloth of gold—two embroidered with dragons—four pieces of Thuys, twelve of Pe-lings, ten of Ho-kyen, four blue flowered damask, three pieces of Ga-fen, four pieces of Fo-Ras, and four pieces of black velvet. The Dutch ambassadors and the members of their suite received suitable presents; so it is probable that suitable presents had been despatched to the Indian Emperor. By the time the Mughal embassy returned, India was in commotion. Shah Jehan fell ill with strangury. On the 6th of September 1657, the Imperial princes were arming for the coming conflict. Princes Murad and Shiya had crowned themselves, the battle of Dharmat was fought on the 15th April 1658 and Maharaja Jasvant Singh was defeated. On the 29th May, Dara was defeated at Samugadh and on the 8th June 1658 Shah Jehan was made a prisoner and the reign of the magnificent Mughal came to a close.

I am not aware if any Persian history gives any account of this Chinese Embassy. Our distinguished historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar may perhaps be able to throw some

light from Persian sources. Scholars of Chinese who are able to consult the annals of Ming dynasty and the Manchu dynasty will, I am sure, throw fresh light on this important embassy. Perhaps other Mughal Emperors also sent embassies to the Chinese Court. Only scholars who can consult Chinese and Persian annals will be able to answer this question positively.

# THE BALLAD OF LŪRIK

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

Durga is an incarnation of the goddess "Great Mother" whose worship in India may be traced so far back as 3500 B.C. For, among the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro in Sindh, several clay-seals depicting a female figure have been discovered. Competent archæologists are of opinion that this female figure represents the "Great Mother" whom the people of Mohenjo-Daro worshipped and whose worship has come down to modern times in India in the shape of Debī-Pūja (देवीपूजा) or Durgā-Pūjā (दुर्गापूजा). She appears to typify the "Primal Energy of Nature" (आद्याशक्ति).

The worship of Durgā is very popular in Bengal. From the evidence deducible from the Ballad of Lūrik it appears that the Goālās or cowherds of the district of Malda in Northern Bengal introduced this worship through the district of Bhagalpur to South Bihar. Lūrik, a Goālā or cowherd of Gaur in the district of Malda in Northern Bengal, appears to have done this. He has now become a glorified hero of the Ahirs or Goālās of Bihar; and his adventures are well known throughout that province and are narrated in a song entitled "*The Ballad of Lūrik*" of which a summary is given below:—

(1) Lūrik was a resident of Gaur (in the district of Malda in Northern Bengal) and, by constantly worshipping the goddess Durgā, became her favourite.

(2) His wife Mānjār, who was well versed in astrology, one day accidentally discovered that her husband (Lūrik) was carrying on an adulterous intrigue with Chānāin the daughter of the Rāja of his native village who was a low-caste man.

(3) By means of her knowledge of astrology, Mānjār learnt that her husband was to elope with Chānāin on that very night.

(4) She communicated to her mother-in-law the news of this misfortune which was impending over them and requested her to postpone the time for supper by pounding the rice again and again and to prolong that meal by preparing a large number of dishes.

(5) A great part of the night was passed in this way. When the day was about to dawn, the family retired to sleep. With the object of preventing Lūrik from running away from the house, Mānjār bound him in her own clothes; while his mother spread her bed upon the door way so as to bar the only outlet from their cottage.

(6) The Rāja's daughter Chānāin, not finding Lūrik near the large tree where they had agreed to meet, invoked the goddess Durgā to assist her in this predicament. The goddess promised to bring Lūrik and, if the day dawned before his arrival, to prolong the night seven times. Finally to enable him to leave his cottage, she opened a passage through the roof thereof.

(7) The two lovers, having met at last, started for Hardi (in the present Madhipurā Sub-division of the Bhagalpur District in South Bihar). On the way, Chānāin refused to eat from Lūrik's plate unless and until he consented to make her his wife. After some hesitation, Lūrik applied some *sindur* (or vermilion) on Chānāin's forehead in token of his having married her. While, the actual marriage-ceremony was performed by the goddess Durgā herself, assisted by her seven sisters.

(8) One night, while she was sleeping under a tree, Chānāin was bitten by a snake and she died. In the vehemence of his grief at her untimely death, Lūrik built a funeral pyre and, after setting fire to it, sat thereupon with Chānāin in his arms. But some invisible being came and extinguished the fire which was re-kindled by Lūrik but put out again by the same unseen power. Things went on in this way for some time.

(9) The gods in the heavens were very much agitated at this extraordinary sight of a husband trying to immolate himself upon his deceased wife's funeral pyre, and, for the

purpose of inducing him to desist from this act, sent a goddess to the earth.

(10) Assuming the form of an old woman, she asked Lūrik to desist from burning himself upon his wife's funeral pyre. But, finding him obstinate in his resolve, she promised to revive his dead wife. For this purpose, the goddess summoned the snake which had bitten Chānāin to death. The ophidian came and sucked out its own venom from the wound, whereupon Chānāin came to life again.

(11) Thereafter the two lovers again set out on their travels. When they reached Rohini (in the Santal Parganas) where a Rāja named Mahāpaṭiā, who was a goldsmith by caste, used to rule, they were surrounded by the latter's retainers who invited Lūrik to a gambling match at the palace.

(12) This Rāja was a great swindler and, by means of his loaded dice, won from Lūrik everything he possessed including his beautiful wife Chānāin whom he coveted more than anything else. But she refused to surrender herself to Mahāpatiā, saying that she would yield only if she herself would be defeated in the game.

(13) The game began again. Having thrown away the loaded dice, Chānāin played with her own and gradually won back everything which the Rāja had gained.

(14) From Rohini, the travellers went to Hardi, the place of their destination. Here they were introduced to the Rāja of the place who became very much offended at Lūrik's omission to make obeisance to him and would not allow the latter to stay in his capital unless and until he became his cowherd. But the latter indignantly replied that he would become his cowherd only if his (the Rāja's) daughter would come out herself to milk the cows.

(15) Thereupon a battle ensued which lasted for seven days and seven nights and resulted in the slaughter of the Rāja's great army. Lūrik obtained this victory with the assistance of the goddess Durgā who intervened because Chānāin promised to sacrifice her firstborn offspring to the goddess.

(16) Thereafter the defeated Rāja of Hardi proclaimed Lūrik to be the joint-king of that place, which position he held for twelve years.

(17) During his stay at Hardi as joint-king of that place, Lūrik happened, one night, to hear an old woman weeping bitterly for her son who had gone out on duty for three days, whereupon he became convinced that his own mother and wife must have wept much more bitterly during the twelve years of his self-imposed exile from home. This reflection worked so powerfully on his mind that he instantly departed for his own home, accompanied by his beautiful mistress Chānāin whose residence he fixed in the neighbourhood of his own house.*

[One scholar is of opinion that Lūrik is a deified cowherd and says that "this deification of a cowherd (Ahir) may be due to the need felt by the numerous cow-keepers for a special deity sprung from their own classes, and is, perhaps, indicative of an attempt to rise in the social scale."]

Now the question is: In what aspect, whether good or bad, whether virtuous or vicious, has the cult of the goddess Durgā been depicted in the foregoing Ballad of Lūrik ?

For the purpose of answering this question, we should, first of all, see how the goddess Durgā has been represented in Hindu mythological art. In this art, she is shown as a beautiful ten-handed female with her right foot resting on the back of a lion and her left one placed on the back of the demon Mahishāsura—half-man and half-buffalo—whom she is represented in the attitude of slaying. On her right-hand side stands a beautiful female named Lakshmī, the goddess of wealth. On the latter's right is the elaphocephalous deity Ganeśa, the god of success, who is represented as being seated on a rat. On the left-hand of the goddess Durgā is a beautiful white-complexioned damsel named Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning,

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* For a fuller account of the Ballad of Lūrik, *vide The Gazetteer of Bhagalpur*, by J. Byrne, I.C.S., Calcutta. The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1911. Pages 48-50.

who is represented as being seated on a full-blown lotus and as holding a *vīṇā* or the Indian lyre in her hands. On the latter's left side is Kārtika, the Indian war-god, who is represented as riding on a peacock.

On account of her possessing ten hands which symbolise her great might and power over all creatures, Durgā is called दशभुजा or "*the ten-handed*". On account of her standing on a lion which, perhaps, symbolises her power of subduing everything, she is called सिंहवाहिनी or "*the lion-vehicled one*." By reason of her slaying the demon Mahishāsura *which act symbolises her destroying all sorts of sins and vices*, she is called महिषमर्द्दिनी or "*the slayer of the buffalo-demon*". She is also called दुर्गाविनाशिनी or "*the remover of all virtuous men's troubles and tribulations*". From a consideration of the foregoing epithets, we find that Durgā is a benign goddess who destroys all sins and vices, who is ever ready to succour and help the distressed virtuous men and women by removing all their troubles and tribulations. and who is a terror to all wrong-doers and sinners.

But the aspect in which she has been depicted in the foregoing Ballad of Lūrik, falsifies all the afore-described benign and amiable traits of her character. She has been depicted therein in the worst and most vicious light, as will be shown presently by quoting chapter and verse.

While Lūrik's loving mother and virtuous wife were doing their level best to prevent him from eloping with Chānāin, the goddess ought not to have foiled all their attempts in this behalf by helping him to escape through a passage in the roof of his cottage and by promising to prolong the night seven times for this purpose. Then again, Durgā, assisted by her seven sisters, ought not to have performed the marriage ceremony of the adulterous Lūrik and Chānāin. Lastly, the goddess should not have helped Lūrik in his battle with the Rāja of Hardi by accepting a bribe from Chānāin, namely, the latter's promise to sacrifice to her (Durgā) her own first-born offspring.

Misdemeanours on the part of gods and goddesses are common enough in Greek and Roman mythology. But, in the case of Durgā who is a benign member of the Hindu Pantheon, the assistance given by the goddess in extricating a vicious man like Lūrik and a vicious woman like Chānāin out of their difficulties is very unseemly and quite incongruous with her character and reputation as a supporter and helper of virtuous men and women. It may, perhaps, be said in extenuation of this unamiable and unredeeming character which has been given to the goddess Durgā in the Ballad of Lūrik, that the Ahirs of Bihar, among whom this song has been composed, are a primitive and uncultured people not possessed of high morals and notorious for their thievish and marauding propensities. This being so, it is very natural that they have painted Durgā's character in such dark colours.

The Ballad of Lūrik is also interesting from the standpoint of the ethnographer and the folklorist, for it affords us glimpses into several quaint manners and customs. I shall mention and discuss them as follows:—

(1) The devices adopted by Lūrik's mother and wife for deferring the times for supper and for retiring to sleep, by pounding rice over and over again and by prolonging the meal by preparing a large number of dishes, are analogous to the well-known expedient which is mentioned in ancient Greek history and by which the wife of the Greek hero Ulysses contrived to put off the suitors for her hand. When Ulysses was away from Greece in the Trojan War and did not return therefrom even after a long time, it was believed that he had been killed therein. Thereupon many Greek princes came and proposed to marry Ulysses' wife Penelope. But she knew, in her heart of hearts, that her husband was alive and, therefore, put off the importunate suitors for her hand by saying: "I shall not listen to your proposal for marrying me until I have finished a web which I am weaving. So you must wait till then." Accordingly, the suitors used to go away in the expectation that the web would be finished in the course of the night. But Penelope used to undo during the night what she

had done by way of weaving during the daytime. In this way, she put off all of them indefinitely until Ulysses returned home.

(2) When Lūrik and Chānāin were flying away from home, the latter refused to eat from the former's plate, saying that she would not do so unless and until he had married her. This refers to the well-known Hindu custom according to which a newly-married husband and wife eat together in token of the fact that the wife has passed from her father's clan to that of her husband and that the latter's clansmen should now accept and admit her into their own. This custom was also prevalent among the ancient Romans under the name of *Confarreatio*. On this point Miss C. S. Burne says: "The *Confarreatio* of the bridal pair, witnessed by the assembled guests, was the final and sole proof of a Roman patrician marriage."*

(3) Men in a low plane of culture believe that the spirits of dead men go to the next and unseen world and lead lives there which are the exact replicas of those they led in this mundane world. They, therefore, require companions to keep them company in the next world. The custom of sacrificing men and women at the funerals of deceased kings and queens originated in this primitive belief.

On this point, Miss C. S. Burne says: "Whatever be the locality or character of the spirit-land, whether it resembles the melancholy Hades of the classics or the joyous Magh Mell of ancient Ireland, *the life lived there is pictured as simply a continuance of the present life.* 'There,' says Dr. Tylor, 'the soul of the dead Karen, with the souls of his axe and cleaver, builds his house and cuts his rice; the shade of the Algonquin hunter hunts souls of beaver and elk, walking on the souls of his snow-shoes over the soul of the snow; the fur-wrapped Kamchadal drives his dog-sledge; the Zulu milks his cows and drives his cattle to kraal, and the South American tribes live on as they left this world, whole or mutilated, healthy

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* *Vide The Handbook of Folklore*, by C. S. Burne. New edition. London. Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1914. Page 203.

or sick, leading their old lives and having their wives with them again, though indeed, as the Araucanians said, 'they have no more children, for they are but souls'."*

Competent anthropologists like Sir E. B. Tylor are of opinion that the custom of *sati* (or the Hindu widow's practice of immolating herself on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband), which was known to the ancient Indo-Aryans and is mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*, also originated in the afore-mentioned belief of primitive peoples.

Lūrik's desire to immolate himself on the funeral pyre of his deceased mistress Chānāin is also based on the same belief.

The vehemence of Lūrik's grief at the untimely death of his mistress Chānāin is comparable with that displayed by the mythical Greek musician Orpheus at the death of his wife Eurydice. Orpheus' sorrow was so keen and uncontrollable that he even went down to Hades and played so sweetly upon his lyre that Pluto, the King of Death, was so much moved by seeing the vehemence of his grief and by hearing the sweetness of his music that he allowed Eurydice to revisit the mundane world on the distinct condition that her husband Orpheus should not look back to see whether or not she was following him. Overcome by his curiosity, Orpheus violated this condition; and so Eurydice was held and not allowed to revisit the earth.

(4) Next I come to the incident describing how the goddess, who had been sent by the gods from heaven to dissuade Lūrik from burning himself on the funeral pyre of his deceased mistress Chānāin, assumed the shape of an old woman to carry out her mission. But, finding him obstinate, she promised to restore Chānāin to life, and, for this purpose, summoned the snake which had bitten her to death. In obedience to her summons, it came and sucked out its own venom from the wound, whereupon Chānāin came to life again.

The practice alluded to in this incident is similar to that alleged to be resorted to by Indian snake-doctors in Bengal

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* *Op. cit.*, page 80.

whereby they pronounce certain incantations on cowry-shells and throw them broadcast. One of these charmed cowry-shells, finding the snake which has bitten a particular person to death, sits tight on its hood and brings it to the place where the dead body is lying. Arrived there, the ophidian sucks out its own venom from the wound on the deceased person's body, whereupon the latter comes to life again.

(5) Then I come to the incident wherein is described the Rāja of Rohini's dice-play with Lūrik, in which the former won from the latter everything the latter possessed including his beautiful mistress Chānāin.

This bears an analogy to the well-known *Mahābhārata* legend which describes how the five Pāṇḍava brothers lost their joint-wife Draupadi to the Kaurava Prince Duryōdhana in a gambling-match and how an attempt was made by the latter to disrobe her. But this attempt was foiled by the miraculous intervention of the god Hari.

(6) Then I shall discuss the incident in which Chānāin promises to sacrifice her first-born offspring to the goddess Durgā and thereby induces the goddess to assist Lūrik in winning the battle with the Rāja of Hardi.

Whenever a god or a goddess is angry with one of his or her votaries, he or she always 'demands the sacrifice of the latter's favourite child or first-born offspring'.

For instance, in Greek mythology the goddess Diana becomes angry with the Greek chieftain Agamemnon and demands the sacrifice of his favourite daughter Iphigenia in order that her wrath might be appeased. When she is about to be sacrificed, she mysteriously vanishes, and a hind of uncommon size is substituted in her place.

It is reported that in January 1932, the priest of a village-goddess named Kundiyamman (in the Madras Presidency) sacrificed to the goddess his eldest son (a twelve-year old boy) because she had appeared before him in a dream, told him that she had become very much angry with him because her annual car-festival had not been held for the last two

years and had demanded the sacrifice of his eldest son in order that her wrath might be appeased.

Then again, it is narrated in the Old Testament that, for the purpose of testing the Patriarch Abraham's faith in Him, Jehovah demanded from him the sacrifice of his only son Isaac, and that, when Abraham was about to slay Isaac, God stopped him from doing so and miraculously substituted in his son's place a ram which was duly sacrificed.

(7) The last noteworthy feature of the Ballad of Lūrik is the use therein of the mystic numbers. The goddess Durgā intends to prolong the night *seven times* for bringing about Lūrik's clandestine meeting with his mistress Chānāin.

Then again, Lūrik's battle with the Rāja of Hardi lasts for *seven days and seven nights*.

I. As regards the incident of the Rāja of Rohini's dice-play, I may state here that "*gambling extraordinary*" is an incident which is often mentioned in Indian folklore. For instance, in one Bengali folktale, the hero loses, first, his companions (hawk and dog) and, then, himself to an ogress on a throw of dice; subsequently the hero's brother wins them back.*

In a Punjabi folktale, the hero and his friends lose themselves to the heroine; the hero, first, loses his arms, then his horse, the third stake being his head; he, then, wins them back and finally wins the last game at which the stake is his enemy's head.†

II. As regards the use of the mystic number seven (7) in Indian folklore, I shall state here that it is very frequently used in Indian folktales. For instance, a kite who has seven chicks, makes a feast of seven dishes. The hero has seven wives and seven children. Seven country girls play together. An enchanted box contains seven fairies. Seven companions seek fortune. A king has seven queens. Seven thieves come to steal

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* *Vide* Rev. Lalbihari Dey's *Folktales of Bengal*, pages 193-194, 277.

† *Vide* Capt. R. C. Temple's *Legends of the Punjab*, pages 48 ff. Also see the same author's *Wide Awake Stories*, pages 27 ff.

the King's daughter. Seven fairies visit the hero. A hero's father has seven daughters. Seven princes marry seven forlorn princesses. An eagle's house has seven doors. The heroine's abode is guarded by seven hedges of bayonets, and again by seven ditches and seven hedges of spears. The heroine's abode is across seven seas. Brāhman has seven daughters. A seven-headed serpent helps the heroine. The hair of the heroine is seven cubits long. The prince is bathed seven times with seven jars of water and seven jars of milk. Seven victims are required to complete a human sacrifice. A palace garden is seven miles square. The heroine is locked up in seven prisons. The lambkin is seven days fattening. The heroine's enemy has seven sons. Seven hundred ogres guard the miraculous flower. The wounded deer is hurled seven paces by the force of an arrow. Seven thieves die of grief for each other. The ogre kills off the old woman's seven sons. The hero's arrow pierces seven frying-pans and seven ogres placed one behind the other. The heroine's home is across seven rivers. The hero has to cross seven rivers to reach the heroine. When the hero shoots a deer, it falls seven paces towards him. The heroine has seven companions. The seven lives in Hell. The seven climes of the world. The heroine has to throw the seven to prove her virtue. Seven mangoes produce seven sons. The hero's wealth reaches seven crores. Seven thieves attack the barber's clever wife. The heroine is the seventh daughter. The seventh hedge cannot be crossed. The seventh queen goes across seven oceans. The seventh court of a deserted palace contains the ogresses. The seventh queen is the mother of the hero. The seventh son is the hero. The seventh daughter is the cleverest of all. The seventh wife protects her sister-in-law. The seventh queen has a monkey son. The seventh son, who sets out to find the heroine, has miraculous powers. The hero is seven days and seven nights on the back of the golden deer flying through the air. The tiger watches the hero seven days. The hero is given seven days to arrange his marriage in. (The references to the folktales in which the aforementioned incidents occur, and to the books wherein these

folktales have been published, are not given here as they are too numerous.)

III. I have already referred to the primitive belief that the spirits of dead men and women go to the next world and require companions to keep them company there, and also to the custom of sacrificing officers, servants and maid-servants at the funerals of deceased kings and queens, which custom originated in the aforementioned primitive belief.

Recent researches have shewn that this last-mentioned custom is designated as "*Anumaraṇa*" and mentioned in Sanskrit literature. It is mentioned for the first time in *Vishṇu Smriti* which was compiled soon after the fifth century A.D. Bāṇa, who lived in the seventh century A.D., makes a distinct mention of the various types of *anumaraṇa* not only of a widowed wife but also of relatives and friends. The annals of Kashmir reveal the custom from about the tenth century A.D., of *anumaraṇa* not only by a wife or wives but also by concubines and slaves of a dead man. Many small engraved upright stone slabs or memorial stelæ have been found in Rajputana, the earliest being the one at Ghatiyala in the Jodhpur State which is dated A.D. 890, which commemorate the immolation of Rajput wives as *satis* on their husbands' funeral pyres. The whole of Rajputana and Central India are full of such memorial stones.

The earliest instance of *sati* memorial stones has been found at Eran in the Sagar district of the Central Provinces, bearing an inscription dated 510 A.D. From this evidence it is inferred that the practice of *sati* or *sahamaraṇam* came into vogue at about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

The earliest known instance of *anumaraṇam* not merely of a widow of the deceased but also of *servants, etc., occurred* in 902 A.D., *when on the death of King Saṃkara Varman, of Kashmir, his three queens, two maid-servants, and one male servant named Jaya Siṃha burnt themselves on his death.* Later instances which occurred in Kashmir in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. show the prevalence of the practice of *anumaraṇa* immolation not only of the widows but also

of servants, male and female, and of mother and nurse along with a deceased person. Not a single instance is to be found in Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina literatures, of relatives (other than wives), friends and dependents of the deceased burning themselves on funeral pyres or on separate piles.

In Southern India also, some *Vīra-Kals*, which *commemorate the self-immolation of servants and followers and even of a whole retinue on the death of their master and patron*, have been discovered.*

IV. I have already stated above that for the purpose of testing the Patriarch Abraham's faith in Him, Jehovah demanded from him the sacrifice of his only son Isaac. This Old Testament legend is paralleled by a tradition which is current about the *Mahābhārata* hero Karṇa who was King of Anga (modern Bhagalpur) and also the commander-in-chief of the Kaurava army. He was renowned for his unstinted liberality and was, therefore, named Dāta Karṇa or Karṇa the Bountiful. For the purpose of testing his liberality, god Srī Kṛṣṇa assumed the shape of an old Brahmin, appeared before Dāta Karṇa and addressing him said: "O King! I am an old Brahmin and have observed my *Ékādaśī* fast. I shall break it by partaking of the flesh of your only son Brishkétu." Bountiful as he was, Karṇa gladly and readily agreed to this proposal. Accordingly Brishkétu was killed and his flesh was cooked. The Brāhmaṇa bathed and before partaking of the cooked flesh, said: "O King Karṇa! It is my practice not to eat alone. So you and your queen Padmāvati must come and share with me my meal of the cooked flesh of your son Brishkétu." Karṇa was horrified to hear this proposal and, addressing the Brahmin, said with tears in his eyes: "O Brāhmaṇa! This request of yours I cannot grant." Thereupon Karṇa was sent out and directed to fetch somebody from the street to share with the Brahmin his meal of flesh. When Karṇa arrived in the street, he was agreeably surprised to find his son Brishkétu alive and playing about. Thereupon the Brahmin said that

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*Vide *Man in India* for October-December 1933. Pages 271-272.

he was Sri Kṛṣṇa and being pleased with Karṇa's liberality, had restored his son Brishkétu to life.

V. The way in which the goddess Durgā is represented in Hindu mythological art as subduing the powerful and fierce lion, bears a striking similarity to the way in which the lion, which symbolises majesty in Mesopotamian art, is depicted therein as waging a deadly combat with the Mesopotamian culture-hero Gilgamesh who ultimately conquered his powerful antagonist.

# THE MAYA PROBLEM

By K. Ramavarma Raja, B.A.

There had existed in America three separate fully developed ancient civilizations regarded as mutually independent and disconnected: one in Central America (Yucatan), another in Mexico and a third in Peru. The question whether they were of indigenous or foreign origin is still under controversy. Prof. G. Elliot Smith seems to suggest their migration or export from the south-eastern corner of Asia, mixed or adulterated with Melanesian and Polynesian customs and practices in their transit across the Pacific to the New World. Dr. H. J. Spinden strongly controverts the view and tries to establish them to be of indigenous and independent American origin by detailed and exhaustive examination of all the elements or items of American civilizations under various sub-heads.[1] But it is admitted that the ancient artistic sculptures of Central America have a striking resemblance to some South Indian carvings. Other noteworthy features common to the Old and New World civilizations were human sacrifice or the propitiatory offering of human blood and the sacredness or sanctity attached to the Serpent; and these are said to have persisted longer and with greater intensity in the latter.[2]

The intelligent and gifted Maya people were the founders of the ancient wonderful civilization of Central America. They were especially very profound and proficient in the science of Astronomy. They had a special Calendar system, Era and Chronology the zero point of which, according to Richard C. E. Long,[3] corresponds to the 13th January 3642 B.C. (Julian Calendar). In concluding its exposition—too exhaustive, technical and intricate for a layman like me to follow—he

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[1] *Culture:* A Symposium. "The Diffusion Controversy"—Psyche Miniatures.

[2] *The Outline of History*, by H. G. Wells, p. 91.

[3] *Man*, August 1918, No. 70.

states as follows : "If the theory put forward in this paper as to the origin of the zero point of Maya Chronology is sound, it will show a remarkable parallel to the Hindu Kali-Yuga Era of 3102 B.C. which has been shown also not to be a historical date, but one arrived at by calculating back till a date was reached which would be the commencement of a cycle harmonising lesser cycles (Dr. J. F. Fleet in *J.R.A.S.*, April 1911). It is curious that another parallel can be found between the Hindu method of reckoning by 'expired' instead of current time periods and the Maya reckoning by elapsed time." According to Dr. Fleet the Hindu Kali-Yuga Era commenced on Friday, 18th February 3102 B.C. But Dr. H. J. Spinden whom I have already referred to as an authority on the ancient American civilizations and cultures says[4] :— "The Central American Calendar is built on a system that finds no parallel in the Old World. It is $18 \times 20 + 5^{(a)}$ combined with a permutation of $13 \times 20 = 260^{(b)}$. The dates are the number of elapsed days from a mundane era which equals October 14, 3373 B.C. in the backward projection of our present Gregorian Calendar. The time count began to function on August 6, 613 B.C."

The Hindu Astronomer Varāhamihira refers to Maya as the propounder of an Astronomical system or, at any rate, as an authority on Astronomy. Maya is again frequently mentioned in our Puranic works as a shrewd expert Engineer-Architect of the demons (Asuras)—as Visvakarma was of their rivals, the gods (Devas)—and the ingenious inventor of various clever devices—magical, chemical, physical and mechanical—to be used, if necessary, for offence and defence in war. Maya is the term used for magic, jugglery, witchcraft and sorcery as well as to denote the Divine primæval and creative illusion. I know that astronomer Maya is generally identified with Ptolemy, Claudius Ptolemæus (=Tura-maya), the famous astronomer of Alexandria.

From the vast collection of evidences made during repeated and successive expeditions, explorations and archæological

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[4] *Culture*, p. 77 : (*a*) Long Count (3) ; (*b*) Short Count (3).

surveys scholars have sought to prove that the early civilizations on both sides of the Atlantic —Egypt, Asia and Europe on the one hand and Mexico, Central America and Peru on the other—had a common birthplace in the Lost Continent of Atlantis submerged in the Mid-Atlantic Ocean. The Deluge legend common to both is one suggestive evidence ; another is the common architectural types of temples and other massive structures (Pyramids) ; the development of a phonetic alphabet from the pictorial one (hieroglyph) is the third in the list of proofs ; the embalming of the dead, the fourth and the last one but not the least in importance is the conception of a witch as a baleful woman riding through the air on a broomstick : in short the similarities in myths, legends and traditions, in architecture, sculpture and writing, and in rites, customs and practices have led the scholars to the conjecture of a common origin of the early Old and New World civilizations to be traced to the extinct civilization of the submerged Continent of Atlantis.

Now to explain these similarities at some length with the help of extracts from the published reviews[5] of works and lectures :

(1) "The Flood legends found almost universally among the peoples of India, China, Chaldæa, Greece, Scandinavia, and in fact of all the lands probably referred to the submergence of the Lost Atlantis as the legends were absolutely identical in all their essentials with the references to the disappearance of the Continent of Atlantis." "They all spring from the racial memories of the catastrophe that overtook Atlantis."

(2) "In Architecture also there is to be found on both sides of the Atlantic that the earliest sacred building is the Pyramid, identical in design, orientation and structure, and evidently from one common source. The vast remains of cities and temples in Mexico and Yucatan (Central America)

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[5] *The Young Citizen*, Madras (publication ceased), Vol. 3, No. 5, p. 146 *et seq*. and No. 11, p. 328 *et seq*.

also strangely resemble those of Egypt; the very carving and decoration of the temples of America, Egypt and India have much in common; while some of the mural decorations are absolutely identical."

(3) "Perhaps the most striking of these examples (of similarities) was the alphabet of the Phœnicians in the Western Hemisphere and that of the Mayas of Yucatan in Central America at an equally early date. It is probable, therefore, that the earliest form of alphabet was hieroglyphic, and that it developed later in Atlantis into the phonetic. The Egyptians were an early Colony from Atlantis and took with them the primitive hieroglyphic form of writing while the sea-going Phœnicians learned the later form of phonetical alphabet during their voyages to the Atlanteans."

(4) "The mummies and the witches indeed seem to be among Mr. Spence's strongest witnesses in favour of Atlantis, and against the theory that the Maya Culture was brought to America from Egypt by way of Asia and the Pacific."

[*N.B.*—The Goddess Sītāla, the controlling deity of small-pox and other eruptive epidemics—it may be added here—represented as holding the broom and water-pot in her hands and wearing the dust-pan (bamboo-made) as her head-gear—"Sītālāshtaka". *Brihatstōtra-ratnākara*, Bombay.]

In India and among the Hindus, there are more than one legend referring to the submergence of land. One is the true Flood legend associated with the Fish-form or incarnation of the god Vishnu. Another is the Nectar Churning myth accounting for the incarnation of the same god as a tortoise to back and support the sinking mountain (Mandara) employed as the churning stick in the ocean of milk, and the third relates how and why the same god appeared a boar and raised the earth from the depths of the ocean. In the Mid-Atlantic there are islands such as the Azores, Asension, S. Paul, and Tristand' Acunha which are believed or shown to be the peaks, still above water, of the submerged bank or ridge[6]; that is to say, the lost

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[6] *The Young Citizen*, Madras (publication ceased), Vol. 3, No. 5, p. 146 *et seq.*

continent is still visible in parts here and there as islands in the Atlantic. If the peoples on this (European) side of the Atlantic are regarded as the Devas and their antipodes on the other (American) side as the inhabitants of the nether world (Asuras) with the lost continent of Atlantis still holding up high peaks above water here and there in the Mid-Atlantic Ocean between them, we can conceive a Nature's parallel to the Nectar Churning myth. The traditions or racial memories of great and imposing phenomena of Nature are thus preserved in our Puranic Mythology.[7]

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[7] *Vide* my paper on "Kumara-Kuja-Kinship," *Q. J. M. S.*, October 1932, Notes pp. 283-287.)

# VIKAṬANITAMBA

BY K. RAGHAVACHARLU, M.A., B.L.

THE name Vikaṭanitambā is a familiar one to lovers of Sanskrit literature and evokes a smile from them. A verse attributed to Rājaśekhara in the *Sūktimuktāvali* bestows upon her an encomium of the highest order.

के वैकटनितम्बेन गिरां गुम्फेन रञ्जिताः ।
निन्दन्ति निजकान्तानां न मौग्ध्यमधुरं वचः ॥

The verse is also found in the *Sriṅgāra Prakāśa* of Bhoja under the caption पुनर्भूविषयो यथा. This along with the verse would entitle us to presume that she was a poetess with rare abilities and a widow who remarried. Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa* refers thrice to the following verse attributed to her.

किं द्वारि दैवहतके सहकारकेण
संवर्धितेन विषवृक्षक एष पापः ।
यस्मिन्मनागपि विकासविकारभाजि
घोरा भवन्ति मदनज्वरसंनिपाताः ॥

Anthologies are not found wanting in giving us some specimens of her much-esteemed poetry. The *Subhāshitāvali* of Vallabhadēva attributes the following verses to her :—

No. 735. अन्यासु . . . . This verse is found with slight changes in *Daśarūpaka*[1] (iv—33) an illustration of चापलम् and in *Kuvalayānanda* as an illustration of प्रस्तुतांकुरालंकारः. The former refers to her by name while the latter does not.

No. 1401. बाला तन्वी . . . . Aufrecht quotes this and the verse above referred as being from the pen of Vikaṭanitambā.

No. 1549. अय्ययि साहसकारिणि . . . .

No. 1682. किं द्वारि दैवहतके . . . . Bhoja refers to this verse thrice in his *Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa*.

No. 2488. दिग्वधूवदनचुम्बि चर्य्यया . . . .

No. 2489. अभिहिताप्याभियोगपराङ्मुखी . . . .

[1] P. 90. Nirṇayasāgar Edition.

One verse क्व प्रस्थितासि करभोरु.... (No. 1946) referred to Amaru in the *Subhāshitāvali* is found in Amarusataka (No. 68) but attributes rather wrongly to Gōvindaswāmin and Vikaṭanitambā in the *Śāraṅgadhara Paddhati*. The verse has been commented upon by Pedda Kōmati Vémabhūpāla otherwise called Vīranārāyaṇa of the fifteenth century. This amply illustrates the unreliability of the anthologies as to authorship and enjoins upon us extreme caution in rushing to conclusions.

A verse in *Śringāra Prakāśa* under अनुभयोपेक्षा refers to her marriage to one who was ill-accomplished in arts but we have to pause and consider as to what weight has to be attached to such a verse.

पृष्टः काले वदति स माषं
तद्विपरीतं सस्यमरण्ये ।
लुंपति चोष्ट्रे रं वा षं वा
तस्मै दत्ता विकटनितम्बा ॥

The verses attributed to her are such which by their suggestion, depth of sentiment and nice expression do credit to any authoress in Sanskrit literature. In the last verse No. 2489,

अभिहिताप्यभियोगपराङ्मुखी
प्रकटमङ्गविलासमकुर्वती ।
उपरि ते पुरुषायितुमक्षमा
नववधूरिव शत्रुपताकिनी ॥

the forces of the enemy are compared to a young bride baffled in the presence of her lover and turning her face backwards from him. Erotic sentiment dominates the verses अन्यासु and बालातन्वी. The verse किं द्वारि दैवहतके सहकारकेण quoted above shows a poetic flight of fancy in ascribing to the mango tree nurtured with care the ingratitude of producing by its blossoms the fever of love-longing in her patron. The Orient describes the mango blossom as one of the five weapons of the God of Love. It is a pity that even after a century or two of vigorous research for Sanskrit manuscripts we are not in a position even to mention by name the works of such a talented authoress, Vikaṭanitambā.

# THE AUTHORS OF THE HOLY CANON OF TAMIL SAIVISM

By T. G. Aravamuthan, M.A., B.L.

The history of the development of Śaiva Siddhānta in the Tamil country is, in large measure, the history of the Nāyaṉmār, the hymnists and the Āchāryas of that school,— its Saints, Poets and Teachers,— for it is their lives, outpourings and doctrines that have shaped the tenets and moulded the characteristics of that school of thought, faith and life.

Emphasizing as Śaiva Siddhānta does, along with other *bhakti* schools, the importance of devotion to a religious life, it has erected a gallery of Saints and has filled it with personalities most of whom were conspicuous, not for their formal teaching, nor for their poetic inspiration, but for their lives of true religion and firm devotion.

The Saints of the school number sixty-three. Perhaps the canonization was effected at one stroke by Sundara, one of the most striking personalities of the school, when he wrote a short poem, known significantly as the *Tirut-Toṇḍat-Tohai*, the 'Breviary of Saints', in which he listed up the great ones to whom he would offer his humble devotions. The poem becoming popular with the church, the great ones of Sundara's list must have come to be ranked as the elect.

The Saints thus canonized were not merely individuals but also groups such as 'the poets not of the false devotion', 'all those who have their thoughts set on Śiva', 'the Brāhmaṇas that dwell in Chidambaram' and 'all those born in Tiruv-Ārūr'. These latter came to be looked on as saints much in the same way, perhaps, as St. Paul came to speak of 'all the saints which are in all Achaia'[1] or of 'all the saints in Christ

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[1] 2 Cor. 1.1.

Jesus which are at Philippi'[2] or of 'the saints and faithful brethren in Christ which are at Colosse'.[3] These Saint-groups are nine in number.

More important, however, are the individuals who were canonized; they numbered fifty-three down to the last days of Sundara, and on his "ascension" he too was canonized. No more canonizations having taken place thereafter, we have now fifty-four individual figures in the gallery of Saints. These fifty-four may, therefore, be confidently said to have flourished not later than Sundara,— that is, probably before the close of the first quarter of the ninth century A.D., to which he has been assigned with such justification as now appears reasonable.[4]

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[2] Phi. 1.1.

[3] Col. 1.2.

[4] See K. S. Srinivasa-Pillai, *Tamiḻ Varalāṟu* (*Pin bāham, Muṉ pahudi*) 65; he believes that Sundara's 'ascension' must have been about 825 A.D. Gopinatha-Rao, in the *Śen-Tamiḻ* (1904-5), iii, 312-22, places him about 850 A.D. One of the data on which reliance is placed for fixing his date is his association with a Pāṇḍya king, Varaguṇa. Māṇikya-vācaka mentions also a Varaguṇa, and we cannot be certain if his Varaguṇa is the Varaguṇa of Sundara's days. The chronology of some of the Vaishnavite saints too depends on the identification of a Varaguṇa of the Pāṇḍya dynasty. Epigraphy knows so far of only two Pāṇḍyas before the eleventh century A.D. who bore the name of Varaguṇa, but it is entirely gratuitous to assume that there were none earlier than the two now known. The dates now assumed for Sundara and others must therefore be taken subject to the possibility,— or rather, the probability,— of earlier Varaguṇas coming to light. [*Cf.* Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri, in the *Journal of Indian History*, xi, p. 55. The discovery of a new Varaguṇa is not an improbability; a new Māṟaṉ-Śaḍaiyaṉ, has been brought to light recently (*Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1929, p. 66, para 8). I have pointed out elsewhere that in view of certain features of the legend of Bhadra and of certain allusions to Varaguṇa it is worth enquiring whether there was not a Varaguṇa different from the two Varaguṇas of the epigraphists, and whether he could not be placed somewhere about the times of Jñāna-Sambandha, and, if there were only two Varaguṇas, whether the earlier of them could not have been Jñāna-Sambandha's contemporary; *Journal of Oriental Research* (1932), vi, 329.]

The majority of the ' Saints ', having been canonized for their exemplary lives or their acts of devotion, are not of much importance in a study of the literature of Tamil Śaivism, but we cannot pass over a few of the 'sixty-three'— only seven in number— whose greatness lay in the influence which they exercised over the growth of the sect, its philosophical outlook and its mode of life,— far, indeed, beyond their numerical strength. They are the only poets among the ' sixty-three ' and posterity has remembered them mainly because of their literary remains.

Three stand out foremost out of the seven ; in the popular mind they stand for Śaiva Siddhānta. Mention has been already made of Sundara, the latest of the three. The two others are Jñāna-Sambandha and Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu. They were contemporaries, but the former was much the younger ; the prime of their lives seems to have respectively lain about 615 A.D.[5] and 645 A.D.[6]

These hymnists raised their voice in hymns to Śiva,— hymns to the composition of at least some of which has gone all the devotion, the poetry and the music that man is capable of. Their hymns are not disquisitions on philosophy masquerading in verse, but outpourings from the heart, and they are as sweet as they are short. These Saints were almost always on the move, visiting temple after temple. When they stepped into a shrine they bowed their heads and raised their voice in praise of the Lord as he was known in that shrine, while they themselves, or an admirer or follower, kept time or accompanied on a musical instrument. The hymns of all the three are almost identical in form and character and are similar in substance ; they are generally short,— ten stanzas in length,— an eleventh stanza being sometimes added, by the hymnist himself or perhaps by

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[5] But see my book, *South Indian Portraits in Stone and Metal*, [92], where I have pointed out some difficulties in the way of Jñāna-Sambandha being treated as a contemporary of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I. [*Cf.* note lower down.]

[6] Venkayya, in *Epigraphia Indica*, iii, 277-8, and in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* (1893), xi, 285.

a companion or disciple, giving the psalmodist's name and assuring salvation to those who chant the psalm. Each poem is known as a *Tirup-Padiyam*. The hymns strike every noble note except the obviously philosophical. Each hymn is a finished piece of expression, and many a well-painted picture and many a glowing sentiment illuminate its short course. So soul-stirring are these psalms that they form a large, and by no means the least significant, portion of the literature of Tamil Śaivism ; indeed they have secured for these three psalmodists the three foremost places in the gallery of Saints.

Another of the literary Saints is Tiru-Mūlar, to whom the doctrinal treatise, the *Tiru-Mandiram*, is attributed : his date is so shrouded in mystery that it looks as if we may be certain of little more than that he could not be later than Sundara who makes mention of him in his 'Breviary' and that the *Tiru-Mandiram* is not later than the tenth century A.D. when a stanza from it is quoted in the commentary on a prosodical treatise.[7]

Three other Saints,— Kāraikkāl-Ammai, Aiy-Aḍihaḷ-Kāḍavar-Kōṉ and Śēramāṉ-Perumāḷ— have also left behind some hymns which, however, are not equal in thought, expression or feeling to those of the three psalmodists already mentioned. Of these saints, Śeramāṉ-Perumāḷ was a contemporary and friend of Sundara, whereas Kāraikkāl-Ammai, being mentioned by the other two hymnists, cannot be taken to be later than them.[8] We have no material whatever on which to base conclusions about Aiy-Aḍihaḷ-Kāḍavar-Kōṉ.

Outside the ranks of the Saints, but not less revered than them, is Māṇikya-vācaka, the poet of two great poems, the *Tiru-Vācakam* and the *Tiruk-Kōvai*. To the fervour of the pslamodist and the *abandon* of the devotee he added a philo-

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7 "இலைநலவாயினும்........வேறு கொளீரே" : இம்
மூலர் வாக்கு மிக்கு வந்த வாறு கண்டுகொள்க.
*Yāppu-Arum-Kala-Virutti*, 93 : 352.

8 Srinivasa-Aiyangar in his *Tamil Studies*, i, 403, bases a theory on metrical forms, but we cannot yet say that literary chronology is so setted in Tamil that we may rely on arguments of that kind.

sophical insight, a poetic grace and a delicacy of expression, which make almost every stanza of his a philosophic lyric in which is found as much of poetry as of philosophy. So high a store is set on his two poems that he has been placed on a par with Jñāna-Sambandha, Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu and Sundara and made to rank with them as a *Samaya Ācārya* of the sect. One is surprised, however, to find that he is not included among the Saints, while room is found for even groups of Saints such as 'all those that were born in Tiruv-Ārūr'.[9] His importance to the school is frankly recognised by his work being included in the Holy Canon as the eighth book and by his being made a *Samaya-Ācārya*. As a poet he is not inferior to his colleagues in the Ācāryaship and we have two long poems in his honour which narrate incidents that seek to prove over and over again that he was as good a Saint as any of the sixty-three. How then is it that he finds no mention in Sundara's 'Breviary'? The mention in that poem of even obscure Saints,— so obscure indeed that Śēk-kiḻār, a hagiographer of later times who wrote an *Acta Sanctorum*, could not find out their ancestry, their birth-place and such other particulars about them and could only with difficulty and much of vagueness hint at the deeds that qualified them for Sainthood,— makes it altogether improbable that Sundara could have been aware of him. Māṇikya-vācaka's miracles are said to have been worked in the Pāṇḍya country at the court of the Pāṇḍya king and he is supposed to have visited the Chera country.[10] The accounts that we have of Sundara tell us that he too visited the courts of both Chera and Pāṇḍya, that he was the honoured friend of the Chera king then reigning, and that both of them together visited the Pāṇḍya country and were the guests of the Pāṇḍya king. Surely, Sundara had sufficient occasion for getting to know of Māṇikya-vācaka. Various

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9 The argument that he is referred to in the phrase பொய்யடிமை யில்லாப்புலவர் in Sundara's *Tirut-Toṇḍat-Tohai* is what the proverbial straw is to the drowning man, and about as helpful.

10 By those who maintain that Tirup-Perum-Tuṟai is on the west coast.

are the explanations advanced for Māṇikya-vācaka having been omitted by Sundara. but the only important one of them is that he did not belong to the orthodox section of the school. This argument, however, wants substance: if Tiru-Mūlar of the *Tiru-Mandiram*, who is claimed by the disciples of the Siddhas to belong to the 'Rasēśvara-darśana' is none the less included among the Saints, we do not see why Mānikya-vācaka too should not have been, though he might have belonged to a school not quite orthodox. But the heterodoxy is more imaginary than real. If he was heterodox, we are not told how his heterodoxy happened to be looked on as orthodoxy when he came to be mentioned in the same breath with the other Samaya-Ācāryas by Paṭṭaṇattup-Piḷḷai[11] and ranked with them by others. The only valid explanation seems to be that he was later than Sundara. The latest date for him must be 1070 A.D., when we find an inscription recording that provision had been made for the recitation, in a temple, of the *Tiruv-Em-Pāvai*, one of the hymns in his work, the *Tiru-Vāśaham*,[12] and that therefore Māṇikya-vācaka will have to be looked for in the two centuries and a half between Sundara and this inscription.[13] If the surmise made lower down that Paṭṭaṇattup-Piḷḷai belongs to the days of Rāja-rāja I is correct, we shall have to conclude that Māṇikya-vācaka cannot be later than the tenth century A.D., he having been mentioned by Paṭṭaṇattup-Piḷḷai in one of his hymns. Māṇikya-vācaka would, then, come between Sundara and Paṭṭaṇattup-Piḷḷai,— that is, in the period of the century and a half between about 825 and 975 A.D.[14]

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11 வித்தகப்பாடன் முத்திறத்தடியருந்
திருந்தியவன்பிற் பெருந்துறைப்பிள்ளையும்.
*Tiru-viḍai-Marudūr Mum-Maṇik-Kōvai* (28).

12 *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1913, p. 104, para 32.

13 For an admirable discussion of Māṇikya-vācaka's date. see Srinivasa-Pillai's *Tamiḻ Varalāṟu* (*Piṉ bāham, Muṉ pahudi*), 67-111.

14 Conclusions on the ages of some of the persons we are here concerned with have been based, by some writers, on one or other of them not having been mentioned by those who came after them. The *argumentum ad silentium* is a gross fallacy where it is not shown

There are some other poets, believed to be nineteen in all, whose works, though not of distinguished merit, are yet of sufficient value to be included in the most sacred literature of Tamil Śaivism. One of them is Tiru-Ālavāy-Uḍaiyār, and he is believed by the pious to be none other than the deity of the famous temple at Madura. Even an impious historian need find little difficulty in conceding that the poem might be the production of a versifier different from the other hymnists of the sacred canon. Four other poets, Nak-Kīrar, Kallāḍār, Kabilar and Paraṇar, are said to have belonged to a famous Tamil Sangam which could not have flourished later than the third century A.D.[15] but only one poem of one of them[16] is to be found among the works believed to belong to the Sangam period. We cannot be sure if the poems attributed to these

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that in the circumstances of the case the silence is significant. Māṇikya-vācaka, for instance, is not even alluded to in the *Tirut-Toṇḍat-Tohai* by Sundara, nor is he mentioned either by Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi in his *Tirut-Toṇḍar-Tiruv-Andādi* or by Śēk-kiḻār in his *Periya Purāṇam*. How comprehensive the list of Sundara is has been shown already ; so, his silence is an argument of great force. But Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi and Śēk-kiḻār confessedly followed Sundara, who had counted out all the beads in his ' Breviary '. Sundara was the last to be raised to the rank of a saint, and Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi and Śēk-kiḻār were concerned only with saints. Māṇikya-vācaka, not being a saint, was naturally ignored by them. The failure of Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi and Śēk-kiḻār to notice Māṇikya-vācaka has therefore no value whatever. We may point out another example: Tiru-Mūlar is found in Sundara's list, but his name does not occur in Paṭṭaṇattup-Piḷḷai's *Tiru-viḍai-Marudūr Mum-Maṇik-Kōvai*, even though the three great psalmodists, Māṇikya-vācaka, Śiva-vākya and Varaguṇa are mentioned. The occurrence of the name of Śiva-vākya is the only circumstance that requires an explanation of how Paṭṭaṇattup-Piḷḷai omitted a reference to Tiru-Mūlar ; the mention of the others is of little consequence as they were all devotees, while Tiru-Mūlar is more a philosopher than a devotee. That Tiru-Mūlar was counted an ancient writer is clear from the passage of the *Yāppu-Arum-Kalam* already quoted.

[15] See, for instance, my book, *The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age*.

[16] Nak-Kīrar's *Tiru-Muruhu-Āṟṟup-Paḍai*.

poets in Śaiva literature are really the compositions of the poets of the Sangam.[17]

Of the other fourteen, the better known are Tiruv-Āli-Amudaṉār, Pūm-Turutti-Nambi-Kāḍa-Nambi, Gaṇḍar-Āditya, Paṭṭaṇattup-Piḷḷai, Śēndaṉār, Tiru-Māḷihai-dēvar, Karuvūr-dēvar, Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi and Sek-kiḻār.

Little is known, however, of the date of the first two except that they must be posterior to Sundara whom they mention.[18] We know of a Gaṇḍar-Āditya who seems to have belonged to the Chola family and was an Inspector of Temples in the days of Rājarāja I (985-1013 A.D.).[19] As some of the other hymnists of the anthology in which Gaṇḍar-Āditya's hymns are included are contemporaries of Rājarāja I, we have ground for a legitimate suspicion that this Gaṇḍar-Āditya might have been the hymnist. But at the end of the only hymn which we know to be Gaṇḍar-Āditya's we are told that he was Lord of Uṟaiy ūr and Tanjore— an unambiguous declaration of his being a king of the Chola line.[20] History tells us of a Gaṇḍar-Āditya, a Chola king who seems to have died about 950 A.D. and from what we know of him he too might have been the author of the hymn. It looks, therefore, more probable that the king, rather than the inspector of temples, was the hymnist.

All that we know of Paṭṭaṇattup-Piḷḷai, whose hymns are famous for their pathos, is that he must be later than Sundara and Māṇikya-vācaka, for he mentions the three great psalmodists and Māṇikya-vācaka in terms which indicate that they had preceded him.[21] Śēndaṉār is reputed to have

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17 *Cf.* M. Venkataswami-Nattar's *Nak-Kirar* and *Kabilar*.

18 அடிகளவரையாரூர்நம்பியவர்களிசைபாட

Tiruv-Āli-Amudaṉār, hymn அல்லாய், 10 : 3.

களையா உடலோடு சேரமா னாரூரன்

Pūm-Turutti-Nambi-Kāḍa-Nambi, hymn முத்த, 5 : 1.

19 *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1907, pp. 75-6, para 37 ; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Intr. 20, *n*. 3.

20 காரார்சோலைக்கோழிவேந்தன்றஞ்சையர்கோன்

21 See the lines quoted already from the *Tiru-viḍai-Marudūr Mum-Maṇik-Kōvai*.

been Paṭṭaṇattup-Piḷḷai's companion,[22] but his date as well is not quite clear. Three inscriptions have been discovered at Tiru-Vīḻi-Miḻalai which seem to mention a certain Śēndaṉ *alias* Jayantan who is described as a *Śiva-jñāni*; these inscriptions seem to show that this Śēndaṉ must have lived in the days of Rājarāja I (985-1013 A.D.).[23] If we take together all the facts, namely, that the Śēndaṉ who was the friend of Paṭṭaṇattup-Piḷḷai was a native of Nāṅgūr,[24] was a hymnist and has sung a psalm on the deity of Tiru-Vīḻi-Miḻalai, that the Śēndaṉ of the inscription was a *Śiva-jñāni*, that the inscription is found at Tiru-Vīḻi-Miḻalai and that Tiru-Vīḻi-Miḻalai and Nāṅgūr are not very far away from each other, we would find little improbability in the two Śēndaṉs being held to have been the same person. But these inscriptions give this Śēndaṉ another *alias*, Tiru-Māḷihai-dēvar, which name we have already mentioned as that of another hymnist of this group. Are we, then, to conclude that the Śēndaṉ who bore the *aliases* Jayanta and Tiru-Māḷihai-dēvar was a resident of Tiru-Vīḻi-Miḻalai, and was also a *Śiva-jñāni*, is a person totally different from the poet Śēndaṉ who was a native of Tiru-Nāṅgūr and has sung a hymn on the Śiva of Tiru-Vīḻi-Miḻalai? The probabilities are that they are identical,[25] and perhaps, we may point out, by way of support, that Tiru-Māḷihai-dēvar is credited with only four hymns all of which are on Chidambaram, and that a hymn on the same place, almost identical in structure and literary quality, is assigned to Śēndaṉ.[26] This circumstance

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22 For a careful examination of the facts about these two hymnists, *Cf.* S. Anavaratavināyakam-Piḷḷai's *Tamiḻ Peru-Makkaḷ Varalāṟu*.

23 Gopinatha-Rao, in the *Śen-Tamiḻ* (1904-5), iii, 358-362.

24 We get this from a poem of Paṭṭaṇattup-Piḷḷai:

மத்தனை தயிருண் டானும் மலர்மிசை மன்னி னானும்
நித்தமுந் தேடிக் காணா நிமலனே அமல மூர்த்தி
செய்த்தலைக் கயல்பாய் நாங்கூர்ச் சேந்தனை வேந்த னிட்ட
கைத்தளை நீக்கி என்முன் காட்டுவெண் காட்டு ளானே.

25 Gopinatha-Rao, in the *Śen-Tamiḻ* (1904-5), iii, 358-362.

26 Along with the one, already mentioned, on Tiru-Vīḻi-Miḻalai and two other hymns.

would seem to suggest that all these poems are really compositions of the same person and that Śēndaṉ and Tiru-Māḷihai-dēvar are mere *aliases* of that person. If this conjecture is correct, we have to hold that Śēndaṉ is not different from Tiru-Māḷihai-dēvar and that both Śēndaṉ and his friend Paṭṭaṇattup-Piḷḷai must be placed in the reign of Rājarāja I (985-1013 A.D.).

Of Karuvūr-dēvar we have no information except that among the hymns he sang are those on Trailōkya-Sundara [the deity of Kōḍai], the images enshrined in the Rājarājeś-varam of Tanjore and the Gaṅgai-Koṇḍa-Chōlēśvaram, [and the temple known as the Ādityēśvaram of Kaḷandai]—names which are tell-tale.

The Rājarājēśvaram of Tanjore is none other than the famous temple erected by the great Chola king Rājarāja I (985-1013 A.D.). We do not know definitely if there was anywhere a fane dedicated to Śiva under the name of Trailōkya-Sundara [and much less are we able to identify the Kōḍai of the hymnist]. But, we do know that one of this Rāja-rāja's queens who was known as Trailōkya mahā-dēvī, set up an image of Śiva, under the name Kalyāṇa-Sundara, in the great temple built by her husband at Tanjore.[27] As we know that images were in those days named often after those who set them up, we may well conclude that this image of Sundara was called Trailōkya-Sundara. [Our inability, however, to locate the Kōḍai of the hymn precludes the conclusion that Karuvūr-dēvar's hymn was composed in honour of this image at Tanjore.]

[The Ādityēśvaram of Kaḷandai is also difficult to identify: two Kaḷandais at least are known, in each of which was a temple known as Ādityēśvaram, and it is doubtful if they were raised by Āditya I or by Āditya II.[28] Karuvūr-dēvar's hymn may

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[27] *South Indian Inscriptions*, ii, 193.

[28] [Assuming, of course, that it was a king who built them. There is no inherent probability in such an assumption: we know, for instance, of an Ādityēśvaram built by a private person (*Madras Epigraphy Collection*, 575 of 1909). One of the Ādityēśvara temples mentioned above was at Kaḷappāḷ in the Maṉṉārguḍi taluk (*Ib.* 657 of 1902)

perhaps be taken to indicate that he could not be earlier than them,— that is, not earlier than a quarter of a century before Rājarāja I.]

More helpful is Karuvūr-dēvar's hymn on the deity of the Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōlēśvara temple,— a temple which took its name from the most famous *biruda* of Rājarāja's son, Rājēndra I (1011-1044 A.D.),—for it shows that Karuvūr-dēvar could not have been earlier than Rājēndra I.

That the Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōlēśvara temple was built in the days of Rājēndra I has been denied on two grounds,— that there might have been an earlier Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōḷa and that the Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla temple is the prototype after which Rājarāja I had modelled his great temple at Tanjore.

The latter of the two arguments has its basis in the circumstances that there is a close structural similarity between the two temples, that 'they must have been constructed after a common model, or that the one must have served as a model for the other', that 'no common model for the two' is 'in existence', that the Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōlēśvaram is 'smaller' and less perfect than the Tanjore temple and therefore the Tanjore temple 'would certainly appear as the later,' that a tradition says that the Tanjore temple was built 'after the model of the one at Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-puram' and that it is extremely improbable that Rājēndra who made 'so many pious gifts and endowments to the favourite temple of his father' would have gone 'so far from his newly embellished capital to found a town in his own name and to erect therein a shrine which is so poor an imitation of the one so admirably and so recently completed by his own father at the capital' and that he would

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and the other at Tiru-Neḍum-Kaḷam, in the Trichinopoly taluk (*Ib.* 672 of 1909). Both the places could, in literary Tamil, go under the name Kaḷandai, and, indeed, the latter of them is specifically so called in an early inscription (*Ib.* 692 of 1909). Not much weight could be attached to the fact that Tiru-Neḍum-Kaḷam is nearer than Kaḷappāḷ to Karūr after which Karuvūr-dēvar is named.]

have been 'quixotic' to have undertaken 'such a foolish piece of work in his short and troubled reign'.[29]

These statements and arguments may now be examined *seriatim*. Rājēndra I's reign was not short, for he reigned from 1011 to 1044 A.D.—for a period almost twice as long as the average of the reign of an English sovereign since the ascension of a Tudor to the throne. Nor was his reign a troubled one: there is not the least scintilla of evidence to suggest that there was any trouble in his dominions in his days; on the other hand, he was able to carry his conquering arms so far north as the Ganges and far beyond the seas. The motives that prompted Indian kings to change capitals frequently need not be here gone into, but surely the over-running of the Gangetic regions was not so negligible an achievement as not to justify the raising of a temple in commemoration of it. Our knowledge of the foundation of the city of Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-puram being very meagre, and it being impossible to say if it was at all founded by Rājēndra I, we are in no position to say if that king was in any wise quixotic. Rājēndra's gifts to the Tanjore temple are only proofs of his piety and cannot disprove that he was ambitious of distinguishing himself by founding a city of his own or by building a temple after his own heart. So little have the two temples,—the one at Tanjore and the one at Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-puram,— been studied that any casual opinion of their relative ages is bound to be of practically no value. The tradition that the Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-puram temple furnished the model for the Tanjore temple does after all seem to be mere 'lying gabble', for it has been established, with a convincing wealth of parallelism in even details of ceremonial, that the great temple at Tiruv-Ārūr formed the archetype of the one at Tanjore.

Aged priests in the great temple at Tanjore say that before Rājarāja I built that temple he was a devotee of the deity of the Tiruv-Ārūr temple, that when he built the Tanjore temple he

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[29] Sundaram-Pillai, in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* (1896-7), xiv, 280-1.

adopted for it the practices of the Tiruv-Ārūr temple, that the practices fell into desuetude in the times of the Nāyakas who were Vaishṇavas, and that under the Mahrattas who were Śaivites the practices were reintroduced. This tradition is corroborated by a number of similarities. [In both the temples the principal image is similarly placed, just where in other temples Sōmāskanda and Naṭarāja stand installed; in both temples the principal image is known as a *viṭaṅka* and is given the *ajapa-naṭana* pose. The *Vasanta Utsava* at both places extends to eighteen days and the daily programme is identical: the musical instruments are the same: the *mūla liṅga* has its *pūja* after the *utsava mūrti* at both places: a *Kuṟa-Vañji-Nāḍaham* is enacted at both places at the festival: just as an image of Saint Sundara goes before that of the deity at the festive processions at Tiruv-Ārūr,[30] so at Tanjore an image of Rājarāja I precedes that of the deity.[31] The processional cars at both places were equally huge.[32]] The Tanjore temple was therefore inspired by the one at Tiruv-Ārūr and not by that at Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-puram. If therefore the temples at Tanjore and Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-puram are 'constructed after a common model' that model must have been furnished by the temple of Tiruv-Ārūr. The Tiruv-Ārūr temple having undergone very much of transformation and very little of the ancient structure having survived,— if we may judge from architectural styles and from inscriptions,— no argument adverse to this conclusion can be based on the present appearance of that temple.

The other objection to the Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōleśvaram having been built by Rājēndra I is that the *biruda* Gaṅgai-koṇḍāṉ need not necessarily refer to Rājēndra I and might have been borne by an earlier king. That the *biruda* of Rājēndra I was not the origin of the name of Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-Īśvaram is sought to be established by showing that while only one king with the *biruda* 'Jayam-koṇḍa-Chōla'

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30 Sundaram-Pillai, in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* (1896-7), xiv, 289-91.

31 [See my *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, 35-6.]

32 [Summarised from Srinivasa-Pillai, *op. cit.*, 161-2.]

is known to us,— and he is Rājādhirāja I (1018-54 A.D.),— there was a district called Jayam-koṇḍa-Chōla-Maṇḍalam even in the days of Rājarāja I.[33] The argument rests on the wrong assumption that only one king had the *biruda* 'Jayam-koṇḍāṉ; it was borne not only by Rājādhirāja I but also by his grandfather Rājarāja I.[34] Once the assumption is shown to be gratuitous, the analogy also fails. Further, while the *biruda* 'Jayam-koṇḍāṉ' might have been assumed by any one who had won any victory, the other *biruda*, Gaṅgai-koṇḍāṉ could have been assumed only by one who had taken the Gangetic regions.[35] After Karikāla-Chōla of the Sangam age, we know of no other Chōla who could lay claim to this achievement except Rājēndra I.[36] There cannot be the least doubt therefore that Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-Īśvaram owes its name to Rājēndra I, the conqueror of the Gangetic basin.

The real point in issue for our present purpose is not who built the temple of Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-Īśvaram or who found-

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[33] Sundaram-Pillai, in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* (1896-7), xiv, 289.

[34] Venkayya, in *Ib.* 143; *South Indian Inscriptions*, ii, Intr. 7.

[35] In the term 'Gaṅgai-koṇḍāṉ' may be suspected a reference to Śiva who has lodged the Ganges in his matted locks. But the *biruda* we are concerned with is not merely Gaṅgai-koṇḍāṉ, nor are the names of the temple and the city 'Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-puram' and 'Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Īśvaram' respectively; the terms are Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-Īśvaram and Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-puram: in each of these the word 'Chōla' occurs as an integral part of the name. The city and the temple therefore have been named not after Śiva but after a Chōla who bore the term 'Gaṅgai-koṇḍāṉ' as a *biruda*. 'Gaṅgai-koṇḍāṉ' is not known to have been used as a proper name or even as a surname by any one. Karuvūr-dēvar in his hymn speaks of Śiva the wearer of the Ganges, கங்கைகொண்டிருந்தகடவுள் and கங்கைபோடணியுங்கடவுள், and at the same time of the deity of the temple of the Chōla who took the Ganges, கங்கை கொண்டசோழேச் சரத்தான் (sts. 9, 10). We have therefore to conclude that the *biruda* was meant to apply to one who had conquered the country through which the Ganges flows.

[36] See my book, *The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age*, [and Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri, in *Journal of Oriental Research*, vii, 199-218].

ed the city of Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-puram, but in whose days the temple came to be called after Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla,— for the hymn of Karuvūr-dēvar gives merely the name of the temple and does not pretend to say by whom it was raised or by whom the city was founded. Even though the temple might have been in existence long anterior to Rājēndra I, it could not have acquired the name Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-Īśvaram before the days of that great conqueror.

We have thus far proved only that Karuvūr-dēvar must have lived at a time when an image of the name Trailōkya-Sundara had been installed and a temple had acquired the name of Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-Īśvaram,— that is perhaps after the time of Rājarāja I and certainly in or after the days of Rājēndra I. But we have not been able to decide, so far, if Karuvūr-dēvar was a contemporary of these kings or was later than them.

Where inscriptions fail, literature steps in and gives us a clue. The *Karuvūr Purāṇam*, a work written in 1583 A.D.,[37] narrates how but for Karuvūr-dēvar the Chōla king who built the great temple at Tanjore could not have succeeded in installing the principal image.[38] The story is not free from romantic embellishments, but it does seem to be based in essentials on quite reliable tradition. On the one hand, we seem to have evidence that the great temple of Tanjore must have come into existence between 1003 and 1005 A.D.[39] and that the principal shrine must have been completed by 1010 A.D.— the year in which the king presented a copper

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[37] If it is about five centuries and a half later than Rājarāja I, it is equally true that it is not almost three centuries and a half old; if it is too late to be a correct record of history, it is at least too early to have been written to support the pre-conceived theory of a modern historian.

[38] xxxix, sts. 62-80.

[39] Venkayya, in *S.I.I.*, ii, Intr. 13. We have to note that the *biruda* Rājarāja is plain as a pike-staff in the hymn and that it came into currency about 1003 A.D.

'water pot' to be placed on the dome of the central shrine.[40] We know also that the image of Trailōkya-Sundara had been installed by 1014 A.D.[41] On the other hand, Rājēndra I is not known to have 'taken the Ganges' before 1023 A.D.;[42] so, it is only subsequent to that date that a city founded by him could have acquired the name of 'Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-puram' and that a temple built by him would have come to be called Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-Īśvaram or at least re-named after his new *biruda*. We may not be wide of the mark if we concluded that Karuvūr-dēvar who sang a hymn on the Rājarājēśvaram of Tanjore, helped Rājarāja to instal the image in that temple, sang a hymn in praise of the image of Trailōkya-Sundara installed perhaps by one of Rājarāja's queens, and sang another hymn on the deity of Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chōla-Īśvaram, must have been old enough about 1005 to be an accomplished poet and must have survived till about 1030 A.D. He may be taken to have been a contemporary of Rājarāja I and his son Rājēndra I.

If the suggestions advanced above in regard to the dates of Gaṇḍar-Āditya, Paṭṭaṇattup-Piḷḷai, Śèndaṉār, Tiru-Māḷihai-dēvar and Karuvūr-dēvar are correct, a number of minor psalmodists must have flourished in the days of Rājarāja I, and just before and after him, who reflected the religious fervour of the times which was fittingly embodied in another form in the glorious temple that Rājarāja I built at Tanjore.

The twenty-six poets mentioned above occupy various positions in the hierarchy of Tamil Śaivism. Seven of them, Jñāna-Sambandha, Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu, Sundara, Śēramāṉ-Perumāḷ, Kāraikkāl-Ammai, Aiy-Aḍihaḷ-Kāḍavar-kōṉ and Tiru-Mūlar are Nāyaṉmār or Saints; the last is a philosopher, and the rest are psalmodists. Another poet, Māṇikya-vācaka is a psalmodist of such distinguished merit that though evidently too late to be canonized as a Saint, he was raised to the

[40] Venkayya, in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* (1896), xiv, 145; see also *S.I.I.*, ii, 2.9.

[41] *S.I.I.*, ii, 193.

[42] *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1918, p. 145, para 28.

dignity of a 'Samaya-Ācārya,'— a dignity which he shares, and shares only, with the three great psalmodist-saints. The remaining nineteen— they are neither among the Saints nor among the Ācāryas,— are minor psalmodists. The appellation 'minor' cannot be appropriately applied to Paraṇar whose greatness as a poet is as unassailable as his psalm, the *Tiru-Muruhu-Āṟṟup-Paḍai*, is inimitable ; none the less, in popular esteem, he comes very much below the three great psalmodists. Three others too bear the names of famous poets of the well-known Tamil Saṅgam, but with what justification is more than we may pretend to pronounce upon.

Tamil literature must ever be grateful to the latest of the minor psalmodists, Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi, for having rescued the hymns and lyrics of these poets from oblivion and collected them into a Holy Canon. So highly were his services as editor appreciated that he was compelled to add his own poetical efforts to the Canon. To what date he has to be assigned is a problem of acute controversy.

Some time after Nambī-Āṇḍār-Nambi came Śēk-kiḻār, the hagiographer who wrote the *Periya Purāṇam* or the *Tirut-Toṇḍar Purāṇam*, 'the Lives of the Saints' of the Tamil Śaiva Church. The merits of the work were so indisputable that by popular acclaim and royal command it has found a place in the Canon.

The Holy Writ of Tamil Śaivism would thus be a collection of psalms and lyrics of canonized and uncanonized poets were it not that it includes two works of different types,— a doctrinal treatise, the *Tiru-Mandiram* of Tiru-Mūlar, and a chronicle, the *Periya Purāṇam* or the 'Lives of the Saints' of Śēk-kiḻār.

The hymns, the doctrinal treatise and the *Acta Sanctorum*, of these twenty-seven poets[43] form the Holy Writ of Tamil Śaivism. The belief generally held is that Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi collected the poems of the Canon with such success as was

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[43] This excludes such of the works of the hymnists assigned to the Sangam Age as are not religious in character.

possible and divided them into eleven books. The first three books comprise the psalms of Jñāna-Sambandha, the second three comprise those of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu and the seventh contains the hymns of Sundara. The hymns of these three are in a class by themselves and the seven books in which they are collected are known popularly as the *Tēvāram*, usually interpreted as 'a poetic garland for God'. These seven books, comprising as they do the devotional lyrics of the great three, are known as the *Aḍaṅgal-Muṟai*, the 'Canon Inclusive,'— so called because it includes the hymns of all the three. The eighth book contains the lyrics philosophic of Māṇikya-vācaka and the tenth is the theological treatise of Tiru-Mūlar. The hymns of eight of the minor poets go into the ninth book, while those of the thirteen others,— including the editor and the three Saints of minor poetic attainments,— go into the eleventh. The twelfth book, which is the *Acta Sanctorum* of Śēk-kiḻār, was added to the scripture some time after Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi. The canon of the Scripture received no further accessions and it now stands divided into twelve books. The entire body of the Holy Scripture comprising all the twelve books is called the *Tiru-Muṟai*, 'the Holy Canon'.

# ARCHITECTURE IN THE GANGA PERIOD

BY M. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.T.

## Introductory

GANGAVADI, from the early centuries of the Christian era, has been a veritable museum of monuments, temples, sculptures and stambhas which bear remarkable witness to the splendid vitality and intellectual refinement of the people. These architectural survivals have been considered to belong severally either to Buddhist, Jaina, or Hindu, or Dravidian, Chālukyan or Hoysala types. Eminent writers have adopted this classification in order to indicate the most active periods of progressive designs in the architectural history of the country as they reflect the alterations produced to some extent in artistic conceptions by changes in the religion of the country or dynastic beliefs.

The general consensus of opinion is that the various styles met with in Mysore and South India in the apsidal temple, the pyramidal storeyed structure, the waggon-headed roof, and the circular shrine chamber with great variety of plan and design are merely developments of Buddhistic buildings. The prevalence and popularity of the Buddhistic dedicatory, funeral and memorial stūpas prior to the Hindu ones, the paucity of the oldest examples of independent Hindu plastic arts before the Christian era, and the marked similarity of a few early Hindu temples in form and on plan with early Buddhistic specimens have led to the presumption that Hindu architecture is derived from the Buddhist. Students of Indian architecture firmly believe that the structure and symbolism of the South Indian temples grew out of Hīnayāna Buddhism. The symbol common to Buddhist monasticism and Brahmin ascetism, *viz.*, the domed stūpa, which covered the sacred shrines, and the procession path, windows, finials, pillars, sculptural motifs, and other elements of Buddhist iconography possibly entered into the Hindu style. It is stated that the stūpas which were attended, reverenced and patronised by the people were converted into Hindu and Jaina temples, and their

conversion was probably accomplished by adding a row of pillars all round the Chaityālayas and by covering the added area with sloping roofs.[1] The square rathas of Māmallapuram which represent a fully developed and sophisticated style, are considered to be the copies of Buddhist vihāras and as the originals from which all the vimānas and gōpurams or gateways of Dravidian temples are derived. The architectural forms of these early buildings of the sixth and seventh centuries were apparently dictated by local conditions and influences. The persistence of expression in forms appropriate to wood on stone was probably due to the availability of large quantities of timber in Mysore and the South and stone obtainable in shafts upto a great length. Similarly the vertical and horizontal repetition of complete buildings in miniature in temple-construction markedly noticeable in these monuments are supposed to be merely the enlargements of the structural arrangements of the many-storeyed Buddhist pyramidal vihāras or monasteries.[2] These replicas or series of laboriously mounted oblong platforms in diminutive size in the form of a pyramidal structure, and crowned by the barrel-vaulted roof, or the Pallava spherical dome, merged themselves into a general decorative pattern by combination with figure and animal sculpture, thus completely obliterating the original design of the mediæval Buddhist stūpa and gave us the highly enriched gōpurams and vimānas of the Dravidian temples. Probably stripped of its ornaments, a ruined Hindu temple presents to-day the same appearance as a mediæval Buddhist stūpa.

Havell remarks that a Dravidian temple is a glorified stūpa and that there is no evidence of the existence of any great architectural tradition among the Dravidians before Āryan civilization penetrated into the South.[3] It is also said that the origin of the South Indian temples has to be traced not to Buddhist stūpas but to a primitive architecture that existed

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[1] *Archæological Survey of India*, 1907-08, pp. xxiii, xxiv.

[2] Beal, *Buddhistic Records*, Vol. I, p. 69.

[3] Havell, *A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilization*, p. 169.

in the South prior to the advent of Brahmanism, Buddhism, or Jainism.[4] The practice of constructing megalithic tombs and sepulchral memorials that was prevalent among certain tribes and castes of South India in the early centuries of the Christian era and the testimony of epigraphical evidences showing the erection of Śiva temples as memorials on tombs of important personages[5] seem strongly to justify the latter point of view. The crude megalithic structures, dolmens, cromlechs and hero-shrines essentially tumular and external, spread all over Mysore and the South, might have been the nucleus on the basis of which the early Buddhist architecture of the South developed.[6]

Owing to these sharp differences of opinion on the origin of temples, it is possible to contend that an adequate classification of mediæval architecture is geographical and that ethnic and sectarian classifications are really misleading. However divergent the specimens of architecture in Mysore and the South in point of plan and design may appear to be, there is beneath them a fundamental unity of spiritual urge and æsthetic inspiration. To the Hindu, Buddhist or Jain, his whole life was an affair of religion in the past and nowhere was this religiousness more clearly manifested than in architecture and sculpture, through which he sought to realize the all-embracing notion of his faith. Architecture was thus employed in raising a fitting dwelling place for the supreme being and sculpture was an eloquent channel for emotional expression.

Further, there was the subservience of architecture to social continuity. The social and religious life of any particular epoch was reproduced in its art and architecture. To judge from the early temples of Mysore, the artists were not only concerned with the supreme theme of the fundamentals of life. They wanted to reveal in their work collective emotions, folk-concepts and social ideals, a striking feature

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[4] *Annual Report of the Archæological Department*, Southern Circle, 1914, p. 34.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 26 ; *Ep. Indica*, VII, 193.

[6] Rice, *Mys. Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 510.

being the introduction of figure and animal sculpture. The great intellectual awakening of the Gupta period widened the mental outlook of the people and manifested itself in all the departments of human activity such as literature, art and architecture. For the first time, lofty ideas and themes of the renaissance and Brahmanical revival came to be revealed and expressed and communicated as live intimate realities and experiences in architecture. The sculptors, who had drunk deep from this new fountain of learning, aimed at the crystallization of the conflicts, direction and objective of human endeavour. Codrington regards that the unsurpassed capacity of mediæval art to make perceptible, through the human figure, the most sublime and complicated ideas of Buddhism and Hinduism would not have been possible unless the sculptors took endless pains over the problems of reproducing the human body, thus finding out the solution in the close imitation of nature.[7] The passionate forms and epic contents revealed in the rich sculptures of the caves at Ellora and Elephanta and in other temples of the period bear testimony to this tendency. It is very probable that this development of figure and animal sculpture was largely the result of the earlier attempts which the Jainas had made in embellishing their temples and samavasaraṇa structures with sculptures of gods and goddesses. The emphasis that fell on decoration and sculpture and elaborate ornamental profusion, noticeable in the temples of the ninth and twelfth centuries, is due incidentally to the discovery of fine, chloritic schist which enabled the sculptors to produce so much of the beautiful, delicate, lace-like tracery which characterizes the later works of art. Architecture and sculpture no doubt were regulated by canons of temple ritual and the craftsman's code and manual but these, instead of being serious impediments to an unfettered display of genius, were elastic enough to allow the creation of things of beauty as objects of joy for ever.

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[7] Codrington, *An Introduction to the Study of Mediæval Sculpture*, p. 9.

### Traces of Buddhistic Architecture

The earliest monuments of Buddhist, Jaina and Pallava remains in Gaṅgavāḍi go back to a period when a part of Mysore was evidently a Śātavāhana viceroyalty and Buddhism dominated the minds of the people. Though no distinctly Buddhistic rock-cut temples or stūpas of stone or of wood have so far been traced in Mysore, still the representation of the chaitya on coins shows that the structural form of the chaitya was quite familiar to the people.[8] The Malavalli pillar stone with the Prākrit inscription of Haritiputra,[9] the Banavāsi inscription recording the grant of a tank and a vihāra, the Tālgunda pillar inscription, all testify to the existence and popularity of the chaitya grihas and vihāras in Mysore. Such grihas and vihāras, centres of great Buddhistic propaganda, providing accommodation for the residence of monks and ascetics and a meeting place for both laymen and members for worship, continued till the sixth century A.D., depending for their maintenance on royal patronage.[10] In the sculptured representations on coins and on inscriptions the figures of Buddha are conspicuously absent, while the events of his life appear to be narrated in aniconic symbols quite in consonance with the puritanical spirit and esoteric teaching of the Buddha. The Mahāyānists of the north emphasized bhakti or devotion in their ceremonials, adopted the Yavana culture that was near it and constructed the images of the Buddha and bōdhisattvas. They preferred the dome to that of the śikhara in erecting temples of worship. From inscriptions it is clear that the form of Buddhism which prevailed in Gaṅgavāḍi was the Hīnayāna and as such the Hīnayānists of the South emphasized Jñāna or knowledge as the point *par excellence* in their religious life and adopted the stūpa in exclusion to the śikhara as their architectonic symbol.

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8 *Mysore Archæological Report*, 1909, para 110.

9 *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 263.

10 *M. A. R.*, 1909-10, p. 49.

## Prevalence of an Independent Jaina Style

While the Buddhists left few traces of their architecture in Mysore and South India except for the traditions embodied in the designs of Śaiva temples, the Jainas who enjoyed a considerable share of royal patronage under the Gaṅgas have preserved for us fine memorials of their early history. Jainism co-existed with Buddhism from the period of the Mauryas and became an active proselytising creed under the Gaṅgas and the *Jaina Ācāryas* of the *Original congregation.* As the religion of the Jainas and Buddhists are similar in several respects, a strong presumption arises that the style of the Jaina temples was very closely allied to the Buddhist style. The Jain Tīrthankaras are represented as seated in the same cross-legged attitude as the Buddha and it is difficult to mark off one from the other. In the absence of any conclusive evidence regarding the existence of an independent Jaina style of architecture, Fergusson and Havell, among others, are of opinion that Jainism did not create a special style of architecture of its own and that it adopted local building traditions to vivify royal and public interest in their creed. It may be admitted that all religions received their inspiration from a common store-house of symbolic and conventional devices as stūpas, railings and wheels were available to the Buddhist, Jaina or Hindu as religious or decorative elements.[11] The Jainas had their stūpas in the time of Aśoka, not particularly as symbols of any religious cult but as memorials of the dead associated with the practice of burial. The stūpa was venerated by the Jainas, for they intended it to symbolize a definite philosophical concept just as the Buddhists considered *Parnirvana* or the merging of the finite ego with the infinite.[12] Like the Buddhists and the Brahmins again, their ascetic ideal was symbolised by the stūpa dome which covered the tower of the shrine, the layman's ideal of bhakti or karma mārga being represented in

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[11] Havell, *Handbook of Indian Art*, p. 14.

[12] Havell, *Ibid.*, p. 74.

the śikhara. A philosophical compromise of these two ideals was later symbolised by the combination of the two structural types, the śikhara being covered by a dome.[13] With the diffusion of Indo-Āryan culture and the propagation of Buddhist and Jaina doctrines in the south, the nāgara style or what Fergusson calls the Āryāvarta style seems to have begun to spread and by about the early mediæval ages had become universal not only in the north but practically over the whole of the peninsular India. Generally, in the nāgara style of structure the shrine was square or rectangular in shape with the śikhara or spire rising upto a point. Many temples in Mysore, and the Aihole and Pattadkal temples, in which the path of circumambulation is lighted by stone lattices in the outer walls and with a modest and small śikhara on the top, prove that this style was for a time prevalent in the Kannaḍa and Chālukyan territories. The nāgara style in the sixth and seventh centuries was superseded by the vēsara style whose distinctive feature was a rectangular shrine with spire rising in regular steps and terminating in a hemispherical dome. A manifestation of this new style is noticed in the early period of the seventh century not only in the Chālukyan districts at Bādāmi, Aihole and Pattadkal, in the Malegatti and Virūpāksha temples but also in the temples of Māmallapuram and Kānchi. A glimpse at a round samavasaraṇa structure of the Jains with three battlements consisting of sculptures of door-keepers, the twelve congregations as Srāmaṅis, Vaimānikas, Bhavanapatis, Vyantaras and several divisions of goddesses, and crowned by an octagonal top with the lion throne, the Dhāma Chakra and Aśoka Tree with Jina figures on all four sides in the pose of ordinary meditation,[14] impresses on one the belief that this structure was definitely the parent of the vēsara style.

The Jains built Chaturmukha or Chaumukh temples which were in the form of a manṭapa or a hall cruciform in plan with a lofty doorway and pillared portico on each of its four

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[13] Havell, *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 245.

[14] *I. A.*, Vol. XL, pp. 125, 153.

sides and a verandah running all round. A flat roof formed of massive granite slab and exterior walls and pillars sometimes decorated with figures of Jaina saints were other features of this type of temple. The collonaded portico in front was usually cruciform in plan and was surmounted at the top by a pointed dome, resting on eight columns with bracket capitals and struts—the most distinctive features of the Jaina style.[15] The Jains created also the three-celled temples for housing Tīrthankaras with their attendants, Yakshas and Yakshinis. The Chālukyas built one or three cells, so called from being all attached to a central manṭapa, the main garbhagriha and the chief deity facing north or south.[16] This method of planning their structures adopted by the Chālukyas, Kadambas and the Hoysalas was evidently inspired from their original Jaina faith. The Kadamba structures with square pillars ornamented with geometrical designs, closed windows and figures of Gajalakshmi on the lintels,[17] pyramidal towers marked with horizontal stages and narrow tooth-like indentations, similarly suggest a Jaina origin.[18] The Hoysalas like the Chālukyas copied the existing Jaina models and constructed the famous Trikūṭāchala and Pañchakūṭāchala temples. According to Bergess and Fergusson, the Jaina style of architecture prevalent in the south pressed northward as far as Ellora in the seventh and eighth centuries taking its Dravidian elements with it. Later in the tenth century, there was a great outburst of Jaina magnificence which continued for some time more. The Indra Sabha and the Jagannatha Sabha cave temples constructed under the patronage of the Chālukyan kings and nearly contemporary with the great temple of Kailāsa illustrate the extension of the Jaina style in the north. The gōpuram with the usual guard house sculptured in miniature on the top,

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15 *Annual Report of the Archæological Department*, Southern Circle, 1913-14, p. 14.

16 Ānanda Ālwar, *Indian Architecture*, p. 209.

17 *Cf.* the monuments of Yellavati and other Jain bastis in the neighbourhood.

18 Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 313-14.

the cubical cell with a door on each of the four sides and the square block of stone in the centre of the shrine sculptured on each side with a figure of Mahāvīra, the *Pancharatna* roof or the Yogi-cell covered by the stūpa dome in the centre with similar ones of smaller size placed at the corners, the strikingly beautiful and original façades of the side chapel, and the porch or antarāla with deep chhajas shading the main front and the sides and the magnificent profile of the elephants kneeling above it are the peculiar features noticed in these Jaina temples.

## Lost Specimens of early Jaina Architecture

Inscriptions bear out the prevalence of Jinālayas or chaityālayas and bastis in Gaṅgavāḍi and Banavāsi made of wood and conforming to this style of architecture before the Pallavas came to dominate and transform its architectural motifs. Mādhava, the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty, established on the hill of Mandali a basadi of wood which received great patronage by his successors.[19] Avinīta and Durvinīta are eulogised in inscriptions as benefactors of temples and chaityālayas.[20] Mārasimha's general Srīvijaya caused to be made an auspicious Jinēndra temple, 'Lofty and immaculate suited to the grandeur of the royal capital Manne.'[21] Srīpurusha is reported to have made a grant to a Jaina temple constructed at Gudulur by Kandachchi. The Gaṅga sovereigns manifested a similar solicitude for Brahmanism by making large endowments to Brahmin temples. The grant of villages by Harivarman to a scholar for the worship of Mūlasthānēśvara and by his son Avinīta, for the worship of Hara, bear testimony to the existence of Hindu temples, the sculptures and plan of which were identical with the prevailing style of the Jainas.[22] We learn from the inscriptions

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19 *E. C.*, VIII, Sh. 41.

20 *I. A.*, Vol. I, p. 136.

21 *E. C.*, IX, Md. 60.

22 *M. A. R.*, 1921, pp. 38-39.

that the temples, Vinītēśvara, probably a temple constructed in memory of Avinīta, and Nītimārgēśvara, Jagadhara Nagarēśvara and Śivamarēśvara, were maintained by the rich subsidies made by Gaṅga sovereigns.[23]

In the light of the knowledge obtained of early Chālukyan structures contiguous to and contemporaneous with those of the Gaṅga monuments of the period some essential features, which in all probability characterized Jaina structures in the country, may be mentioned. The garbhagriha always received light from one of the central halls and the palpable darkness so created by bad lighting served the purpose of exciting the religious fervour of the devotee for concentration and contemplation and made him believe to have visualised the sentient movements of the feature of God. The images of Tīrthankaras were invariably placed in oblong or square cells while those of Gajalakshmi always appeared on the outer-doors of a Jaina temple and was never carved over the shrine door, the latter being preserved for the image of Jina. The walls and the ceilings were profusely ornamented with rich sculptures of a seemingly weird and symbolic character, and carvings of the principal incidents in the life of a Jina.[24] Larger temples had encircling them a great open court which was generally studded with a great number of cells for housing Jīna images. In some temples, an upper shrine was provided with a projecting front and entrance and the first storey of the tower seems to have been its distinctive feature.[25] Provision was made for a stone ladder in the north aisle of the manṭapa leading to the roof in the tower in which an upper shrine was located.[26] "The Jains used in their temple construction horizontal arches and domes which were not copies of wooden models." From Meguti and Aihole temples which were originally Jain it is

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[23] *E. C.*, IX, p. 67, IV, Mys. 2; XC, 48.

[24] *I. A.*, XL, p. 161.

[25] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 22, pl. XIX.

[26] Cousens, *Chālukyan Architecture*, p. 45, pl. LI.

clear that a Jain temple had not only arches and domes but the shrine itself was surrounded by eight small rooms in place of pradakshina, antarāla and porch, and the roof of the manṭapa was supported by sixteen square piers.[27] The construction of a verandah to a temple must have been probably Jain, for Fergusson states, "It is not easy to settle in the present state of our knowledge whether the Buddhist chaityālayas had or had not verandahs."[28] The outer walls were probably plain and the temples faced all directions, north, south, west and east, the Jains being not very punctilious about the observance of Hindu superstition that temples should not face south.[29]

### Traces of Pallava Style

A further stage in the evolution of architecture in Gaṅgavāḍi was reached when the Pallavas in their scheme of expansion and in the full tide of their hostility towards the Chālukyas encroached upon Gaṅga and Kadamba territory and attempted at a consolidation of their power. There was a great upheaval in religious thought about the seventh century with the rise of Vaishṇava and Śaiva saints who carried on propagandist activities to suppress the nihilistic tendencies of Jainism and Buddhism. This period witnessed also the beginning of temples and their monuments in stone instead of in perishable materials such as brick or wood. Great improvements were introduced in the design and structure of temples in the time of Mahėndra Varman, Narasimha Varman, and the most striking feature of the style was the type of pillars used in temples. Cubical pillars with octagonal shaft in the middle and decorated with a conventional lotus design and corbel capitals were now replaced with elegant pillars with a conventional lion at the base carrying on its head the shaft of the

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[27] *A. S. of India*, Vol. I, pl. XLV.

[28] *A. S. I.*, pl. XLIII, p. 31; Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India.*

[29] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 322.

column with double brackets between the capital and architrave intended for supporting the corners. This was evidently a stone copy of a wooden model.[30]

This new style spread to Gaṅgavāḍi and Chālukyan territory when the Pallavas were at the height of their power and revolutionized its indigenous architecture. The wooden structures which the Jains had built for religious purposes were now converted into stone temples. Structural prototypes of the Pallava style with storeyed vimānas and gōpurams, horizontal mouldings and shadows, square pillars, corridors and enclosures, and attenuated pilasters on outer walls came to be repeated in Gaṅgavāḍi and in some parts of the Chālukyan territory where the Pallava influence became supreme after the dissolution of the Eastern Chālukyan power. The Kaḷahastēśvara temple[31] in Nidugaldurga founded by Billichorasa of the Pallava family, the Somēśvara[32] temple at Gaṅgavāripalli, the Bhoganandīśvara temple at the foot of the Nandi hills and the Rāmēśvara temple at Arkere,[33] all seem to be manifest copies of the Māmallapuram pagodas.

The Somēśvara temple in Gaṅgavāripalli is one of the earliest Pallava buildings in the state, built much earlier than the temple at Nandi. The temple consists of the garbhagriha, sukhanāsı and navaraṅga, and mukhamanṭapa with a small gōpura over the shrine. Dwarf pillars resting on the heads of sculptured-lions—the distinctive feature of the Pallava style—plain structure and ornamental friezes on the ruined manṭapa that lies to the left to the entrance to the temple, unmistakably speak of the Pallava influence and the architecture of the period.[34] The Bhoganandīśvara shrine, the oldest portion of the Nandi temple, was built by Ratnāvali, consort of Bāṇavidyādhara about 810 A.D. and was patronised by

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[30] *A. S. I.*, 1918, p. 11.
[31] *E. C.*, IX, Pavagada 45.
[32] *E. C.*, IX, Bg. 20.
[33] *M. A. R.*, 1911, para 13.
[34] *M. A. R.*, 1927, p. 21.

the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Gōvinda III. It consists of a garbhagriha, sukhanāsi, a navaraṅga carved with small figures and two pierced windows opposite to each other and a ceiling decorated with aṣṭadikpālakas in their proper directions with Śiva and Pārvati in the central panel. The outer walls have pilasters and turrets, a frieze of large images representing the marriage of Śiva and Pārvati, with a smaller frieze of swans above, and, conspicuously, two pierced windows which, unlike the perforated windows of other temples, have fine figures of Dakshiṇāmūrti, with holes in the inter-spaces to admit light.[35] The original shrine has been so completely overshadowed by pillared corridors and enclosures that the Nandi temple and other Dravidian structures now appear to be a fortuitous aggregation of parts arranged as circumstances required during the long course of their erection, thus lacking in complete symmetry, plan and structure.

During this period of great colour and animation, there was not only the construction of new temples but also the rehabilitation of old ones. Temples which were in wood were converted with the advent of the new style into Dravidian temples, dedicated either to Śiva or to Tīrthankara worship. The Kapilēśvara temple at Manne, once the celebrated capital of the Gaṅgas, is a brick structure with a navaraṅga and good pillars and pierced stone windows, ornamented creepers with dancing figures represented in all convolutions.[36] The garbhagriha of the Somēśvara temple in the same place and built of brick seems to be as old a structure as the former, probably going back to the eighth century. The Mahāliṅgēśvara temple at Varuṇa, once the capital of the chiefs of a minor branch of the Chālukyan dynasty, is a small plain building, has a narrow frieze running along under the roof with minute sculpture illustrative of the Rāmāyaṇa and executed in a realistic and spirited manner in a remote Jaina style.[37] The Kannēśvara

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35 *M. A. R.*, 1909-10, p. 20.

36 *M. A. R.*, 1915, p. 22.

37 *E. C.*, III, Mys. 136 ; *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 34.

temple at Kannambadi built by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishna III in 812 A.D. is no longer in existence.[38] The Arkēśvara temple at Vijayapura with grants of Śivamāra and Ereyappa, the Pātālēśvara and Maralēśvara temples of Talkad with Gaṅga inscriptions, the Narasimha temple at Kuñche with an inscription of Satyavākya Permadi, the Nāgēśvara temple at Begur can all be assigned to a period when the Gaṅgas were at the height of their power.[39]

### Later Jaina Temples

The later Gaṅgas, if the early Jaina temples in Mysore are any guide in the matter, followed the Dravidian style. Building a temple as in the case of all Jains, who have an instinctive love of the picturesque, was a prayer in stone which they thought would secure for them the delights of paradise in the life hereafter. Between the seventh and tenth centuries when the propagandist activities of the Jaina Ācāryas were at their height, some of the most elegant specimens of architecture were raised in all important Jaina centres as Javagal, Kuppattur, Algodu, Ankanāthapura, Chikkahanasoge, Heggadadevanakote, Kittur, Humcha and above all at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa, where both the "historic and the picturesque clasp hands". The Chandranātha basti at Hanagal,[40] the Śāntinātha basti at Kuppattur,[41] the Ādinātha basti at Hanasoge,[42] the Pārśvanātha basti at Kittur, the Guddada basti of Bāhubali, built by Vikramāditya Santara in 898 A.D., the Pañcha basti built by Chaṭṭala Dēvi, the Pallava queen and the adopted daughter of Rākāsa Gaṅga, the Makara Jinālaya at Angadi with vestiges of old Jain bastis and the ruined figures of Tīrthankaras,[43] all bear testimony to their construction in the early Dravidian style.

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38 *E. C.*, IX, Gb. 61.
39 *M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 28; 1912, p. 19; 1913, p. 23; 1915, p. 23.
40 *M. A. R.*, 1911.
41 *M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 42.
42 *M. A. R.*, 1912, p. 13.
43 *E. C.*, VI, Mudigere 9.

These are all built in gradually receding storeys, ornamented with little simulating cells which with their connecting links are adorned with semi-circular dormer windows. Behind these cells, the walls are divided by slender pilasters into narrow apartments and in each is placed the statue of a deity of cross-legged Tīrthankaras in a contemplative mood. The outer walls of most of these temples are similarly ornamented with pilasters and crowned with a row of ornamental cells.

The Śāsana and Chandragupta bastis on the Chandragiri hills known also as Katvapra or Kalbappa hills in Śravaṇa-beḷagoḷa have garbhagriha, sukhanāsi or three cells and a narrow verandah in front with seated Yaksha figures. The Chandragupta basti has been considered to be one of the oldest temples on the hills and is attributed to Chandragupta. Chāundarāya basti has a garbhagriha, sukhanāsi, nava-raṅga and a porch with verandahs attached. Chandraprabhā basti was built by Śivamāra, son of Srīpurusha, about the beginning of the ninth century while the Chāundarāya basti, the most imposing on the hill both in style and dimensions, was undertaken and completed by Chāundarāya about 982 A.D. His son Jinadevanna probably adorned his father's structure by adding an upper storey which he dedicated to Pārśvanātha. The outer walls of this temple were decorated with pilasters and crowned with three fine friezes, one of small ornamental niches, the second of the head and trunks of Yalis, mostly in pairs facing each other and the third of larger ornamental niches with seated Jina and other figures at intervals. In most of these bastis is a square cell surrounded by a cloister at the back of which is a vestibule from which the small shrine is entered. The vimāna over this cell which contains the principal image is surmounted by a small dome as in the case of every Dravidian temple, while the shrine itself is surrounded by walls of unusual thickness to support the vimāna.

## Ganga Sculpture

(*a*) *Stambhas.*—The distinctive contribution of the Gaṅgas to the architecture of the period seems to be the erection of

maṇṭapas, free-standing monuments and colossal statues of Tīrthankaras on the hill in Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa. Unlike the four-pillared pavilions of the Hindus, the Jain maṇṭapas are five-pillared, with a pillar at each angle and one in the middle, as can be gauged from the pavilion before the entrance to the hillock on Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa, the middle pillar being so supported from above that a handkerchief can be passed through below its base.[44] As Fergusson states "if anyone wished to select one feature of Indian architecture which has its perfection and weakness there are probably no objects more suited for this purpose than these stambhas or free-standing pillars.[45]" There are two types of pillars with which the Gaṅga architects were familiar, Manastambhas and Brahmadeva pillars. Manastambhas have a pavilion at the top containing standing Jina figures, facing the four directions as the one in front of the Pārśvanātha basti.[46] The Brahmadeva pillar has a seated figure of Brahma at the top like the Kūge Brahmadeva memorial figure, built in 974 A.D. in honour of the Gaṅga king Mārasimha, and Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar,[47] built by Chāundarāya in 983 A.D. Though it is not quite clear whether a wooden origin can be claimed for these stambhas or whether they have any connection with the obelisks of the Egyptians—both are invariably monoliths—still, these pillars are undoubtedly, as Fergusson has pointed out, like the Dipadans and Dwajastambhas of the Hindus, the lineal descendants of Buddhist lats which bore inscriptions on their shafts with emblems of animals on their capitals. The Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar carved out of a single block of stone rests on a base beautified by figure sculpture and contains on the north side the inscriptions of Chāundarāya, giving a glowing account of his exploits, and on the south, figures of Chāundarāya flanked by chauri-bearers, and of his Guru Nemichandra. The shaft

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44 Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 274.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 277.

46 *E. C.*, II, pls. VI and XII.

47 *E. C.*, II, No. 59.

of the pillar is decorated with a graceful scroll of fine bell-shaped flowers and beautiful flowering climbing shrub—the honeysuckle,—which gives striking resemblances to Aśoka's pillars, especially the one at Allahabad which has a beautiful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle.

(*b*) *Vīrakals.*—The Gaṅgas developed a unique type of sculpture in vīrakals and decorative friezes in temples for which the Hoysalas later on became distinctively famous. The discovery of a sort of clay chlorite with a fine grained hardness, capable of taking a high polish and reflecting the effect of light and shade with wonderful appropriateness and thus enabling the artist to display the softness of the flesh by the deftness of the chisel stroke completely revolutionized the art of sculpture after the tenth century. The sculptural representations of elephants with hanging necklaces and bent tusks, as on the Kyathanahalli stone inscription[48] and on the Tayalur stone, and on the Atukur stone of the time of Būtuga, representing the boar hunt,[49] the fight between the hound and the boar with their tails turned up in anger and each warding off the blows of the other, are very natural, realistic and life-like. The Doddahundi stone depicting Nītimārga's death, the king resting on a double pillow attended by Agarayya, his family servant and his warrior son, Satyavākya in full panoply, is a good piece of elaborate interesting sculpture. The physical exhaustion of the king, the anguish of the son at his father's death and the ineffable joy of the major domo at his opportunity for self-sacrifice, are on the whole very vividly portrayed.[50] The Begur stone of the time of Ereyappa (890 A.D.) represents how in the spirited battle of Tumbepadi, the chief Nagatara under Ereyappa's orders fought against Ayappa, the son of Mahendra and lost his life and made a triumphant ascent to the world of gods. There are three panels in it, as generally in the scenes of most vīrakals representing those in which the hero

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48 *E. C.*, III, 1, Sr. 950 A.D., No. 147.

49 *E. C.*, III, 1, Md. 14.

50 *E. C.*, III, 1, Tn. 91 ; *E. C.*, I, VI, No. 6.

fell, his ascent to heaven borne along in a car surrounded by celestial nymphs, and his being seated in the immediate presence of divinity. The depiction of the foot soldiers in different attitudes and postures of striking, rising or falling, accoutred with all the implements of warfare and engaged in a very close sanguinary fight, and the representation of Nagatara, seated on a well-caparisoned steed and advancing along with other cavalry officers against the enemy, or seated on a beautiful but agitated elephant, all reveal colour, movement and great animation.[51] This class of sculpture, though varied and ruder in execution than the representation of the scenes of warfare in epic poems on the temples, is unique in its own way since they illustrate scenes from life and illustrate the costumes, weapons and other features of the time in which they were erected.

(*c*) *Bettas.*—Like the bastis, the Gaṅga monuments are represented by bettas (literally hills) or courtyards open to the sky and containing the image of Gomaṭeśvara who seems to have had a peculiar attraction to Jaina sculptors. These open courts are invariably surrounded by a corridor containing cells with Jaina images with, at some distance, a heavy wall. A good part of it as in Dodda Betta is picturesquely formed by natural boulders. The unfinished statue of Bharateśvara complete only to the knee with an inscription of about 900 A.D. and the colossal statue of Gomaṭa standing on the summit of Dodda Betta in simple human form without any support above the thighs are the most remarkable specimens of Gaṅga sculpture. Other Jaina works of this kind are found at Karkala and at Enur both in the district of South Canara, once a very important Jaina settlement. The Karkala statute about 41 feet 5 inches high was erected by Vīrapāṇḍya on the advice of his Guru Lalitakīrthi of Hanasoge; Timmarāja in 1604 in consonance to the wishes of his spiritual adviser Chārukīrthi of Beḷguḷa erected the Enur statue which is about 35 feet high.

(*d*) *Gomaṭa Images.*—Gomaṭa otherwise known as Bhujabali, according to traditions the second son of Ādinātha after

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[51] *E. C.*, IX, Bg. 83.

generously restoring the kingdom to his brother Bharata, retired to the forest for the practice of austerities and attained to great fame by his victory over *karma*. Bharata erected at Pandarapura a golden statue of his brother, 525 bow-lengths in height, known as Kukkuṭeśvara or Kukkuṭa-Jineśvara which was worshipped by the gods but which soon became inaccessible to men, the region being infested with Kukkuṭa sarpas or cockatrices. Traditions vary with regard to the antiquity of the statue. Devachandra reports in his *Rājāvalikathe* that Rāma and Sīta brought it from Lanka and installed it on the hill at Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa. The *Sthalapurāṇa* and *Bhujabali Charitre* written by Panchabāṇa, refer to the revelation of Gomaṭa in the form of a stone image on the larger hill to Chāuṇḍarāya who consecrated it some time about 983 A.D. during the reign of his sovereign Rāchamalla. An inscription of 1180 makes the clear statement that Chāuṇḍarāya, minister of Rāchamalla, had the statue of Gomaṭa made, and we have further synchronous records in Kannada, Tamil and Maharāshtra languages respectively engraved at the sides of the image itself stating the same fact. Chāuṇḍarāya does not mention the erection of the statue in the long account of his exploits and personal gallantry which he has recorded in his work *Chāuṇḍarāyapurāṇa* composed by himself in 978 A.D. and as such the Gomaṭa image could not have been installed before that period. It must have been established and consecrated before 993 A.D. as the great Kannada poet Ratna, more popularly known as Ranna, refers in his *Ajita Purāṇa* to a pilgrimage made by his patroness Attimabbe to Jineśvara[52] commonly known by its mythological name Kukkuṭeśvara.[53] No reference is made in his work to Gomaṭa which appellation it came to acquire probably later after Nemichandra's great work *Gomaṭasāra*.

The face of Gomaṭa is remarkable for its serene expression, the hair curled in short spiral ringlets all over the head while the ears are long and large. The figure is treated conventionally, the shoulders being broad, the arms hanging

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52 *E. C.*, II, 234, 335, 349.

53 *Ajita Purāṇa*, I, 61.

straight down the sides with the thumbs turned outwards. The image is represented with an attenuated waist, legs a little dwarfed below the knee, and with other anatomical details revealing an extreme simplicity of contour. Though not elegant, the image is not wanting in majestic and impressive splendour. The figure has no support above the thighs. The ant-hill with emerging serpents, the lower limbs and the climbing plant mādhavī twining round both legs and arms and terminating at the upper part of the arm in a cluster of berries of fragrant white flowers, probably symbolize the complete absorption of the ideal ascetic in meditation and penance. The pedestal is designed to represent an open lotus and upon this the artist has worked a scale corresponding to three feet four inches which was probably used in laying out the work.[54] "It is probable that Gomaṭa was cut out of a boulder which rested on the spot: it is larger than any of the statues of Ramses in Egypt. It is carved in a fine grained light granite and has not been injured by weather or violence and looks as bright and clean as if just from the chisel of the artist. The face is its strong point considering the size of the head which, from the crown to the bottom of the ear, measures six feet six inches. The artist was skilful indeed to draw from the blank rock the wondrous contemplative expression touched with a faint smile with which Gomaṭa gazes out on a struggling world."[55] A glance at the image impresses on one the idea that the artist seems to have meditated not on the "glory of the naked human form, nor the proud and conscious assertion of human personality, but on the heavenly model that leads us from ourselves into the universal life," while translating the sublime idea of man's victory over his *karma* into such a piece of ineffable art. Two Yakshas, Chauri-bearers, beautifully carved and richly ornamented, in royal marks, dress and crown and fruits in the left hands attend on Gomaṭa. To the left of the enclosure, there is a dvārapālaka of imposing

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[54] *E. C.*, II, pp. 10, 11.

[55] Workman, *Through Town and Jungle*, 82-84.

height and size with four hands with maces of different kinds in three of his hands, while the left hand is in the *abhaya* pose. The *akhaṇḍa bāgalu* or the door-way with a lintel beautifully carved with a seated figure of Lakshmi with flowers in her hands and elephants on either side bathing her, the Brahmadeva pillar with a pavilion at the top, and the figure of gullakayajji below it, were all caused to be made by Chāuṇḍarāya. The pillared hall in front of the image with elaborately carved ceilings containing figures of Indra and the *Aṣṭa Dikpālakas* was erected by Bala Deva in the early part of the twelfth century. The Jaina pantheon includes among many of the favourite Brahmanical divinities, Sarasvati and Lakshmi as the most prominent. Indra is as prominent in Jaina as in Buddha mythology and with his consort Indrāṇi is frequently figured on the lower jambs of doorways of Jaina temples whilst larger figures of Yakshas and Yakshiṇis are represented as gods at the entrance of the shrines. The *navagrahas* or nine planets are frequently represented at the foot of the *āsana* of the Jaina images as also the *Aṣṭa Dikpālakas*. It may also be observed that all the figures of Tīrthankaras have a triple umbrella or tiara over their heads and are identically alike with the exception of snake crest over Suparsva and the right hand laid over the left in the lap with the palm upwards. All the Yakshas and Yakshiṇis have similar tapering head-dresses ; the Yakshas are naked to the navel and the Yakshiṇis are more fully clad, and all sit in the *lalita mudra* or with one foot down and the other tucked up in front ; all hold the front right hand up before the breast open with the palm outwards (*varadahasta*).[56] These features as well as conventionalized representations of Oṁkāra, Hrīmkāra, etc., are markedly noticeable in all the Jaina temples of the Gaṅga period.

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[56] *I. A.*, XXXII, p. 463.

# ROMANCE OF THE MYTHICAL EAGLE

By M. Venktesia, M.R.S.L.

## I

Fear, admiration and devotion for the Supernatural led early man to worship Nature in her varied moods. The sun, the moon, the air and the clouds were all worshipped. Every freak of Nature was regarded as a manifestation of some unknown power responsible for creation, protection and destruction. Nature worship was perhaps followed by the worship of animals and birds. When and where the first human deity appeared, it is difficult to say. The deification of animals and birds, the dragons and demons and the later mythical and fabulous half-human half-animal representations of God may have culminated in anthropomorphic deities.

If totemism was the earliest religion, it, perhaps, gave the inspiration for the Babylonian and Indian myths pertaining to the hostility between the eagle-clan and the serpent-clan. Animal-clans and bird-clans have persisted from the most ancient times and they are to be seen even to-day among the North-American Indians and other primitive tribes elsewhere. Mention may be made of the Niska Indians of British Columbia, who are divided into four principal clans with the raven, the wolf, the eagle and the bear for their respective totems. In time, animals and birds were dethroned from their olympic heights; and by turns, they became man's equals and friends, his followers and vehicles, until at last they began to figure on the crests and as symbols of royalty and heraldry.

Birds in general and the eagle, the kite, the griffon and the vulture in particular have from the beginning been deified and worshipped. Even as the lion was considered the king of beasts, the eagle was regarded as the ruler of birds. Its majestic and awe-inspiring flight in the high heavens, its ravenous attacks on smaller birds and animals, its wonted desire for the human flesh are among the causes for man's terror and adoration

for it. There is hardly any ancient or mediæval mythology wherein the eagle does not figure. Early man regarded this bird as the winged messenger who carried the souls of the dead to Hades.

Ancient priesthood cared little for rational ornithological homology. For instance, the bird perched on the tree of life in Central America and Mexico is indifferently represented as an eagle, a falcon, a vulture, a macaw, or even a turkey, though peculiarly enough all of them are eagle-beaked birds.

Palæolithic man of the Reindeer Age had animal-headed deities. The eponymous heroes of the earliest period had perhaps animal forms. In Egypt, doves and pigeons were sacred. Thoth was represented by the ibis, Horus by the hawk and Isis by the swallow. In the winged disc of Horus may be noticed serpents suggesting the fusion of the falcon and serpent clans. Horus was represented with a human body and a falcon's head. He is also said to have ascended from the paradise of Osiris to the one above the skies in the form of a falcon. Set, the earth deity, is said to have transformed itself into the chaos goose and flown in the air. Amon's wife, Mut, the Theban Great Mother and the primitive goddess Nekhebet were represented as vultures. Nekhebet was identified by the Greeks with Eileithyia, the goddess of birth, who was usually represented as a vulture hovering over the king. The Phœnix which lived at Khenen-su was worshipped as a goddess of fertility and storm and lightning. It had wings coloured partly gold and partly crimson and was supposed to fly from Arabia to Heliopolis once in every five hundred years. It was said to spring from the ashes of the parent bird. This mythical bird is identified with the planet Venus 'which as the morning star was the guide of the sun-god'. As animal worship was carried to excess in Egypt and the whole species was worshipped, it is difficult to locate the eagle there although many think that the Phœnix was an eagle. The long Ā sign in the hieroglyphic alphabet is represented by the eagle. On the lids of burial jars, the divine guardian Qebsennuf is represented with a hawk's head. Since Egypt is generally

regarded as the cradle of civilization, it is likely that these bird representations spread to other parts of the old world and human intelligence gradually built upon the Mut, Nekhebet and other stories until these developed into the highly intellectual mythology of the Babylonians and the Hindus.

Apart from the eagle being worshipped as a bird, it has also been rendered into various forms and deified. Among the discoveries of Hogarth at Zagros is to be found clay seals depicting an eagle-woman along with other half-human half-animal forms. This brings us to Cretan mythology about which Diodorus says that the Demeter passed from the Isle of Crete into Egypt carrying with her the 'cultivation of corn'. Mackenzie thinks that the Demeter referred to is not the Grecian goddess but 'rather a Phigalian cave monster'. In one of the seals discovered by Hogarth, the monster is represented as the 'eagle-lady'—'a woman with prominent breasts, widespread wings, and an eagle's head, wearing the snake waist girdle and the bell-shaped gown, or simply an eagle with a fan-tail and nothing human but her breasts.' Mackenzie further thinks that this primitive form later developed into the Hittite winged disk and the Assyrian disk of Ashur. This inference is based upon a study of several other seals where the goddess is represented differently.

The Babylonians had their lion-headed eagle. On a silver vase of a Sumerian king of Lagash it is represented as carrying two lions in its claws. The Hittites had their double-headed eagle, probably suggested by a lion-headed eagle with birds' heads protruding from the ears, which they regarded as a religious symbol along with the three-legged symbol. We have then the Indian Garuda originally depicted as a kite but gradually assuming human shape retaining none of the bird features except the beak shown as the long-drawn nose akin to the nose of the Alpine Hittites, and the wings. The Kinnaras of the Hindus, regarded as heavenly musicians, are represented as human birds. It will thus be seen that from the long Ā of the heiroglyphics, the eagle has undergone changes in human fancy.

The Zu Bird represented among stars by Pegasus and Taurus, was a Sumerian storm demon who symbolised a phase of the sun and was a deity of fertility. He once aspired to rule the gods. With this object, he stole the Tablet of Destiny from Bel, the lord of deities, and flew away to his mountain abode in Arabia. By the possession of the tablet, he assumed supreme power over the whole Universe. All the gods including Ramman, the thunderer, were afraid of attacking the Zu Bird to secure the tablet back. The moon, however, set out on a journey for the purpose ; but the result of this expedition is not known as the legend is said to be fragmentary. We may here recollect that the Egyptian Phœnix flies from Arabia to Heliopolis once in five hundred years. It is possible that the Zu Bird symbolised the summer storms from the Arabian desert. The myth was evidently fabricated by the Sumerians who observed that thunder and rain were powerless against the sand storm.

A parallel is found in Hindu mythology where Garuda or Garuthman, the celestial eagle, the Vahana of Vishnu (the protector of the Hindu trinity) robs the Amrita or Ambrosia from the gods.

## II

Garuda has been adored and worshipped by the Hindus from time immemorial. He is identified in a hymn in the Mahabharata with Agni, the fire-god ; with Brahma, the creator ; with Indra, the god of thunder and fertility ; and with Yama, the god of death. He is the presiding spirit of the animate and inanimate universe, destroyer of all and creator of all. He burns all as the sun in his anger burneth all creatures. Few Hindus are found who do not fold their hands in devotion when they see the white-necked Indian eagle flying in the skies. Garuda is variously called in the scriptures as Garuthman, chief of birds ; Suparna, from the beauty of his plumage ; Nagantaka and Pannaga-naśana, destroyer of serpents ; Vishnuratha, the vehicle of Vishnu ; Kaśyapi, son of Kaśyapa ; Vainateya, son of Vinata ; Sitanana, white-faced ; Rakta-paksha, red-winged ; Sveta-rohita, a combination of white and red ; Suvarna-

kaya, of golden body ; Gaganeśvara, lord of the skies ; Khageś-vara, king of birds ; Sarparati, enemy of serpents ; Tarasvin, the swift ; Rasayana, quick as mercury ; Kamacharin, moves where he wants ; Kamayus, one after pleasures ; Chirad, one that eats long ; Amrita-haraṇa, the stealer of ambrosia ; Surendrajit, enemy of Indra ; and Vajrajit, subduer of the thunder-bolt.

Garuda is a son of Kaśyapa (the first seer identified with the pole-star) by his wife Vinata or Diti. The serpents are the children of another wife, Kadru. Garuda is also a half-brother of Aruṇa, the maimed charioteer of the sun-god ; and Aruṇa's children, Jatayu and Sampati are vultures. Garuda figures prominently in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. This lord of birds was hatched by Diti from an enormous egg five hundred years after it had been laid.

This corresponds with the chaos egg referred to in various myths. We have already noticed the Egyptian earth-deity flying through the air in the form of the chaos goose. Till recent times, the goose was eaten on Christmas day only in the Highlands of Scotland, and in England in Michaelmas. There is the famous saying : 'If you eat goose at Michaelmas, you will never want money all the year round.'

The reason for Garuda stealing the Amrita was as follows. His mother Vinata lost a wager with Kadru, the mother of the serpents and was, therefore, put in bondage. Kadru demanded that Garuda should fly to the celestial mountain, Mandara-parvata, and secure the nectar for her sons to get rid of their poison, if Vinata should be freed from bondage. Garuda, 'darkening the world by the dust raised by the hurricane of his wings', started on the adventure. On the way he encountered Indra, the thunder-god, with whom he had a huge battle. Indra was ultimately defeated. In the skirmish, Garuda lost but one feather from his wings. He then reached the mountain and there found that Amrita was surrounded by terrible flames. He then assumed a huge body, drank up the waters of many rivers and succeeded in extin-guishing the flames by pouring thereon the water from his belly.

Going closer, he found that the nectar was protected by Vishnu's chakra (disc), which was revolving at a terrific speed. Garuda then assumed a tiny body and by passing between the spokes of the wheel approached the nectar. Here, he was faced with two monstrous snakes whom he killed after assuming an equally monstrous shape. He then secured the nectar and flew back. The Amrita was, however, later recovered by the gods from the snakes.

Let us now turn to Babylonia for a while. The eagle in the legend of Etana is again an enemy of serpents like the Garuda and the Zu Bird. The story here is that the mother serpent being harassed by the eagle appeals to the sun-god, Shamash, for help. He designs a clever manœuvre. The mother serpent, following the instructions of Shamash, slays a wild ox and conceals herself in its entrails. The eagle descends with his wonted greed for flesh unheeding the warning of one of his sons who detects the trap. The eagle—

> " He swooped down and stood upon the wild ox,
> The eagle......examined the flesh ;
> He looked about carefully before and behind him ;
> He again examined the flesh ;
> He looked about carefully before and behind him,
> Then, moving swiftly, he made for the hidden parts.
> When he entered into the midst,
> The serpent seized him by his wings."

The mother serpent tore him to pieces unheedful of his appeal for mercy and threw him into a pit where he perished of hunger and thirst.

In Babylonia, the eagle is a friend of the hero Etana as Garuda is of Vishnu ; and both the heroes ride on the back of the eagle. In one of the legends, the eagle secures the plant of birth for Etana's wife when she was about to become a mother. This may have been the cause for the extended use of birth-girdles of straw and serpent skin and eagle-stones in ancient Europe and in India to this day.

On one occasion, Etana being desirous of ascending to the heavens, seeks the assistance of the eagle who says : ' Be glad, my friend. Let me bear thee to the highest heaven. Lay

thy breast on mine and thine arms on my wings, and let my body be as thy body.' Etana having complied, the bird started on the flight and, after two hours' swift ascent in the air, Etana looked down at the suggestion of the eagle and saw the earth look like a huge mountain encompassed by the seas. After two more hours' flight, Etana was asked to look down again. This time the sight was different and the sea appeared as a girdle round the earth. Still another two hours, the eagle asked his human friend to look down again. The sea was now so small that it looked like a tiny pond. This is the height at which the pair are said to have arrived at the heaven of Anu, Bel, and Ea where they rested for some time. They then ascended higher and higher in quest of the heaven of Ishtar, the 'queen of heavens'. In this pursuit again, Etana is successively asked by the eagle, at intervals of two hours each, to observe how the earth gradually sank into a tiny speck. What disaster befell them afterwards, it is difficult to say as the legend is fragmentary; but both man and beast fell to the earth and the eagle was shattered.

Though in both the Etana myths the eagle is killed, Garuda does not anywhere meet with a similar fate. He has to play a great part in Hindu mythology and the highly talented and clever composers cannot afford to lose him. Garuda, however, met with the loss of but one feather in his battle with Indra as already related; and on another occasion, he was overpowered by Vishnu when he lost many feathers. Except for these two incidents, the Indian eagle has always been all-powerful. There is, however, another story in Hindu hology which relates to Garuda's two nephews, Jatayu and Sampati who are said to be vultures like Mut and Nekhebet already referred to and Nerau, the symbol of mother Isis and the double-crown, Nebli which was a vulture and Uræus together.

### III

These two brothers, Jatayu and Sampati, once fly towards the sun with the object of trying their respective ability. They fly on and on till they come very close to the sun when,

being unable to bear the heat, they fall down to the earth. In this attempt, Jatayu is unhurt, but Sampati's wings are totally burnt. We shall see later how by an act of service to Rama, he regains his wings. It may be that this story of the brothers supplied the background for the Greek fable of Icarus.

These two vultures figure prominently in the Ramayana. When Rama goes into banishment with his wife Sita and brother Lakshmana, he meets Jatayu perching on a tree in the woods. Jatayu is stated to have wedded the sister of Dasaratha, Rama's father. When Rama attempts to kill the bird, it says: 'O, Rama, do not kill me. I am a friend, and will guard your wife when you and your brother are away from the hermitage.' Rama then accepts the friendship. Later, when Ravana, the ten-headed giant, carries away Sita, Jatayu warns the giant not to do so since Rama is most powerful. On Ravana's ignoring the advice, the bird offers fight. In the encounter, Ravana's crown falls down. Growing angry, Ravana fights with renewed vigour until the bird's wings are cut and Jatayu falls down bleeding. Ravana then carries away Sita without opposition. On Rama's return, finding Sita missing, he suspects Jatayu of foul-play and prepares to kill him. But Jatayu is already weak and bleeding. He narrates the events; and before concluding, he breathes his last.

As for Sampati, it has been seen how he was rendered wingless in his flight towards the sun. When Sita is carried away by Ravana, Rama and Lakshmana start out on a search. On the way, they befriend Sugriva and Hanuman, the monkey chiefs. Hanuman, who soon becomes Rama's lieutenant, is deputed to go out with a band of monkeys to find out the whereabouts of Sita. In his wanderings, Hanuman meets this huge bird, Sampati, in a wilderness and asks him if he knows anything about Sita. Thereupon, Sampati relates the story of how he was rendered wingless; and says that he has been there for ages and ages. An estimate of the venerable age of this bird can be made when it is known that Jatayu, his brother, was king of all the birds for

60,000 years. Sampati then tells Hanuman that he saw Ravana carrying away Sita to Lanka and gives him directions for proceeding towards Lanka and bringing back Sita. He thus renders invaluable service to the great hero Rama. This act rids him of the sun's curses. His wings grow up even as he is talking to Hanuman and he is once again enabled to take flight athwart the blue heavens.

A more or less similar incident is found in the Celtic legend of the eagle of Gwern Abwy who was approached by Gwrhyr for information about Mabon who had disappeared for ages. The eagle says : 'I have been here for a great space of time, and when I first came hither there was a rock here, from the top of which I pecked at the stars every evening ; and now it is not so much as a span high. From that day to this I have been here.' The eagle further says that during all the period it never heard of the man. However, it guides Gwrhyr to the Salmon of Llyn Llyw who helps the hero in finding out Mabon.

Reference has already been made to Etana ascending on the back of an eagle to the heaven of Anu and Bel and Ishtar. Garuda was the vahana or vehicle of Vishnu in his incarnation as Krishna. In his incarnation as Rama also, Garuda was his friend.

As regards the origin of the Ramayana itself the following story is current. One day, while loitering in the woods, the sage Valmiki saw a bird-man and a bird-woman, husband and wife. A hunter, who was passing by, shot the bird-man and killed him ; and the bird-woman wept and wailed. Her sorrow moved the sage to such an extent that he cursed the hunter. The curse became a beautiful verse. Hearing it, Brahma came down from heaven and ordained Valmiki to compose the Ramayana.

In the great battle of Lanka, Indrajit shoots the serpent-arrow at Rama and Lakshmana who both fall in swoon. Vibhishaṇa asks Hanuman to bring the magic herb from the Anjana mountain. Even as Hanuman gets ready, a huge storm rises and the whole place gets clouded and darkened.

To the great amazement of the monkeys, Garuda arrives on the scene. At his very approach, the serpent arrows fall off from the bodies of the heroes; and when Garuda descends and touches their heads, they get back to their senses and recover their former strength and radiance. To Rama's enquiry, Garuda replies, 'I am thy friend and I have come to aid thee hearing that thou wert bound by the magic shaft of Indrajit. Now, thou shouldst take warning how the Rakshasas fight with cunning and magic, and thou shouldst never trust them in the field. I take my way; thou needst not wonder how friendship came to be between us; thou shalt know all after the battle is achieved. Surely thou shalt slay Ravana and win back Sita.' Having said this, the bird ascends up and disappears. When his end comes Rama ascends to heaven on the back of Garuda, as Vishnu and finds Sita there as Sri.

What is significant here is that Rama, who is an incarnation of Vishnu, does not recognize Garuda at all till his work in this world is completed. It is only when he returns to his abode in Vaikuntha, that Garuda reassumes his office.

Again, in the Krishna incarnation, when he recovers the jewel mountain, he places it on the back of Garuda together with the umbrella of Varuna, and mounting him, he sets off to the heavens to restore the ear-rings of Aditi. Hercules goes to heaven in the form of an eagle after burning himself on a pyre and the soul of the Roman emperor ascends on the back of an eagle. The Roman kings personified Jupiter and wore his costume. In one of their hands they held a sceptre of ivory topped with an eagle and in this attire the assimilation of the man to the god comes out as the eagle was the bird of Jove. The custom of letting loose an eagle from over the funeral pyre of the Roman emperor is considered by Fraser as likely to have been borrowed from the East.

The eagle was a messenger of Zeus (Jupiter, Jove) and some consider that Zeus himself may have been an eagle or an eagle-man deity. There is a story that Zeus got the beautiful boy, Ganymede, stolen by an eagle from Mount Ida and kept him as his cup-bearer.

The Arabian Moslems have another version of the Etana Myth. The Al Fatihat chapter of the Koran makes reference to a dispute concerning the 'Lord' between Abraham and a Babylonian king. The latter is identified by some with Nimrod who set out on a journey to the heavens in quest of the 'Lord'. He first built a huge tower to ascend to the heavens and this plan having failed, he made a huge chest in which he sat and caused the chest to be carried up by four monstrous birds, evidently huge griffons. The story goes that after a flight for several days, birds and man crashed on the top of a mountain.

Alexander the Great too had much to do with the eagle. The Ethiopic History relates about Alexander's flying in the air over an eagle to acquaint himself with the length and breadth of the earth and a knowledge of the various lands and seas over which he had to journey during his expeditions. Another story as related by Wallis Budge is akin to the Arabian myth of Nimrod and according to it, Alexander is reputed to have tamed and kept large birds, probably eagles or vultures. He sent four of his soldiers mounted on these birds from the 'country of darkness' to the 'country of the living' and on their return, these soldiers told the king 'all that had happened and all that they had seen'.

## IV

Scottish folk-tale has the story of a hero who was carried off by a cromhineach, 'a big bird like an eagle' which sprang into the heavens; and the hero, for some time, did not know which was heaven or earth for him. After a prolonged flight, the eagle halted on an island. The hero then relates: 'Sleep came upon herself (the eagle) and she slept. The sun was enlivening me pretty well though I was dead.' This is really curious that though dead, the hero should still be conscious. The hero continues: 'Afterwards, the eagle bathed in a healing well, and as it splashed in the water, drops fell on me and I came back to life. I grew stronger and more active than I had ever been before.'

Ælian relates a legend pertaining to the Babylonian Gilgamash whose exploits are akin to those of Hercules and Nimrod. "The guards of the citadel of Babylon threw down to the ground a child who had been conceived and brought forth in secret, and who afterwards became known as Gilgames. A keen-eyed eagle saw the child falling; and before it touched the ground, the bird flew under it and received it on its back; and carried it away to a garden and laid it down gently." Sakuntala, the Indian heroine of the famous drama of the great Kalidasa, was protected in childhood by vultures and Semiramis by doves. Akhamanish, the Persian patriarch, was likewise protected and brought up in childhood by the sacred eagle which is reputed to cast its shadow on born rulers. Mackenzie thinks that this eagle was remotely totemic, and the Achæmenians were probably descendants of an ancient eagle-tribe.

We have then the Arabian Simurgh, who figures prominently in the Shah Nameh. The warrior Sam had a son born with white hair. The baby's mother called him Zal. Owing to certain predictions, Sam abandoned the baby on Mount Albertz, the abode of the Simurgh. This huge bird, instead of devouring the babe, reared him and educated him for some years and ultimately restored him to his father and also gave the boy a feather from its wings as a token saying, 'when you are in difficulty remember me, and I shall help you.'

There is next the Celtic myth in which the sun-god, Lleu transformed himself into an eagle when he was on the point of being killed by his unfaithful wife Bledeuwedd and her paramour, Grenw. Lleu was, however, enabled to assume his original form by the efforts of his father, Gwydion. Co-related with this is the story of the Gaurs, the relics of the ancient Persians. As is well known, the Persians, like the present-day Parsis, were fire-worshippers. One day the 'Kan of Kerman' asked the Gaurs to show him the fire which command was supreme and they showed him the fire. Contrary to his expectations of seeing something extraordinary, the Khan saw a simple fire and being infuriated, he spat on it. The sacred fire which was

thus profaned flew away in the form of a pigeon but it returned after the Gaurs had offered great prayers and sacrifices.

Several instances pertaining to the enmity between the eagles and serpents have already been cited. In a Buddhistic myth, a Bodhisatva casts into a river a golden dish after taking food from it. A serpent catches the dish and carries it away to its hole. Sukra, however, in the form of a Garuda, snatches it from the Naga and carries it to the Tusita heaven. Hindu mythology is full of incidents of warfare between the two clans. When Kaliya, the serpent, was pardoned and asked by Krishna to go to Ramanaka Dvipa, the serpent was afraid of going there as it was the abode of Garuda.

Contrary to the general devotion attached to the eagle, the tribes at the foot of the Caucasus were in the habit of pursuing and killing the eagles. This was noticed by Apolloneus during his journeys as gleaned by Sven Hedin. The reason for this hatred, according to tradition, was that the hero Prometheus who was so dear to the mountaineers was carried away by an eagle to the top of a cliff and there hanged. The same tale is told in Arrian and Strabo also. Wilford thus accounts for it : 'Not far from Banyam is the den of Garuda, the bird-god ; he devoured some servants of Mahadeva, and this drew upon him the resentment of that irascible deity, whose servants are called Pramathas.' Could it be that these tribesmen were fanatic Saivites with an inborn hatred for the rival deity, Vishnu and hence his vahana Garuda, the eagle ?

Marco Polo makes an interesting statement that he found in Georgiana a story current that all kings were born with the figure of an eagle upon the right shoulder. This reminds one of the supposed existence of the Garuda-rekha (the Garuda line) on the palm of some persons as believed by orthodox Hindus and of its possessors being immune from snake-poison.

The mythical eagle has always been conceived to be of enormous size and strength and capable of assuming different shapes at will. The fable of the Ruc is very old. The following is an account of the bird as related to Marco Polo : " 'Tis

said that on those other islands to the south (of Madæigascar) which the ships are unable to visit because this strong current prevents their return, is found the bird gryphon, which appears there at certain seasons. The description given of it is however certainly different from what our stories and pictures make it. For, persons who had been there and had seen it told Messer Marco Polo that it was for all the world like an eagle, but one indeed of enormous size; so big in fact that its wings covered an extent of thirty paces, and its quills were twelve paces long, and thick in proportion. And it is so strong that it will seize an elephant in its talons and carry him high into the air, and drop him so that he is smashed to pieces; having so killed him the bird gryphon swoops down on him and eats him at leisure. The people of these isles call the bird Ruc, and it has no other name."

Although the eagle in flesh and blood now worshipped in India is perhaps one of the smaller and most beautiful of the species, mythological accounts give this bird a monstrous size akin to what is described above. Alike in size and strength are the Simurgh of the old Persians, the Angka of the Arabs, the Bar Yuchre of the Rabbinical legends, the Gryps of the Greeks, the Roc in the familiar story of Sindbad the Sailor and other mythical birds already referred to. Perhaps, all the myths developed from one original fable!

We are not unaware of the existence of certain huge vultures which can carry not only fowls and lambs but even little children; and the great desire of these birds for human flesh is proverbial. If one takes a walk in Malabar Hill (Bombay) near the famous Parsi Tower of Silence, one can see huge birds belonging to this species perched on trees with their awe-inspiring appearance, looking like messengers of the God of Death.

## V

It will be interesting to see how contagious and homœopathic magic regarded the eagle with great reverence in various countries.

In Iceland, it was customary to bury the charion of a

baby under the threshold so that the mother might step over it daily. It was considered that by such a treatment of the charion, the man would have in after-life a guardian in the shape of a bear, an eagle, a wolf, an ox or a boar. The Ostyaks, a people of the Finnish-Ugrian stock in Siberia, regarded as holy, a tree on which an eagle had built its nest. They held the bird as sacred and considered that great misery would overtake them if they destroyed the nest or killed the bird. Codrington speaks of a Melanesian wizard in Lepers' Island who had been known to send out his soul in the form of an eagle to pursue a ship and learn the fortunes of the natives who were travelling in it. Thomas Pennant who travelled in Pertshire in the Central Highlands of Scotland in 1769, gives an account of a certain kind of sacrifice known as the Beltane Fires into which at one stage, each of the participants offers cakes of oatmeal (after offering like pieces to the supposed preserver of their flocks and herds) to noxious animals saying, "This, I give to thee, O Fox! This to thee, O Hooded-Crow, this to thee, O Eagle!" Among the Tlingit (Thlinkeet Kolosh Indians of Alaska), a girl used to be confined to a little hut or cage when she was about to attain womanhood. Her food was given her through a little window and she had to drink out of the wing-bone of a white-headed eagle, perhaps with the idea that she would get the agility of an eagle. Again, in Central Australia at a certain place, there was a heap of stones supposed by the tribesmen to be the vomit of two men of the eagle-hawk totem who had dined plentifully on eagle-hawk folk. The tribesmen dreaded to catch sight of these stones as they thought it would cause immediate sickness. The heap was, therefore, covered with sticks and each passer-by added a stick in order to prevent the stones from being exposed to sight. Among the various methods of communicating qualities by external application among the Central Australians was noticed a custom of beating boys on the calves with the leg-bone of an eagle. Strength was supposed to pass thereby from the bone to the boy.

Dr. George Brown in his work on "The Melanesians and Polynesians" relates an incident to which he was a personal witness. When in Melanesia, he happened to be present when a native doctor was attending to a patient. Just then "a large eagle-hawk came soaring past the house, and Kaplen, my hunter, was going to shoot it; but the doctor jumped up in evident alarm, and said, 'Oh, Don't shoot; that is my spirit (Niog, literally, my shadow); if you shoot that, I will die'." The Californians who adored the buzzard used to kill it once every year and believed that though they killed it, it always came back to life again. Evidently, this sacrifice was intended for the preservation of the species.

The earliest occupants of the Islands of Japan were the Ainu or the Yezo who arrived there in different batches at long intervals. Carl Whiting Bishop of the Smithsonian Institution of Washington considers that but for the admixture of the Ainu, the present-day Japan would have been a second Korea—'In other words, a feeble imitation of China, without either the will or the force to think and act for herself.' The Ainus still persist on the Islands. This primitive tribe which is also found in Saghalien and the southern portion of the Kurile Islands, 'regarded the eagle-owl as a good deity who by his hooting warns men of threatened evil and defends them against it; hence he is loved, trusted, and devoutly worshipped as a divine mediator between men and the Creator.' He is called by them by various names. Now and again, the Ainu catches one of these birds and keeps it in a cage and addresses it as 'beloved god' and 'dear little divinity'. Notwithstanding the adoration, after some time, the bird is sacrificed and the spirit is supposed to go to the Creator in its capacity as mediator. At the time it is killed, it is addressed as follows: "Beloved deity, we have brought you up because we love you, and now we are about to send you to your father. We herewith offer you food, inao, wine and cakes; take them to your parent, and he will be very pleased. When you come to him say, 'I have lived a long time among the Ainu, where an Ainu father and an Ainu mother reared me. I now come to thee.

I have brought a variety of good things. I saw while living in Ainu-land a great deal of distress. I observed that some of the people were possessed by demons, some were wounded by wild animals, some were hurt by landslides, others suffered ship-wreck, and many were attacked by disease. The people are in great straits. My father, hear me, and hasten to look upon the Ainu and help them.' If you do this, your father will help us. Pray listen to my words. Thou dost not belong to this world, for thy home is with the Creator and his golden eagles. When thou arrivest at thy home in the glorious heavens, assemble the deities of thine own kind together and thank them for us for having governed the world. Do thou come again, beseech thee, and rule over us. O my precious one, go thou quietly." The Ainu regards the Hawk also as a divine being and after rearing it in a cage for some time, he sacrifices it in the belief that it will bestow its capacity in hunting to the tribesmen.

The ancient Greeks thought that to smear the eyes of a blear-sighted person with the gall of an eagle would give him the eagle's vision. The Thlinkeet and Haida Shamans are said to tear out the tongues of otters and eagles and wear them as a talisman round their necks in the belief that it confers supernatural powers upon the wearer. The Cherokee Indians announce that a snow-bird has been killed when they shoot an eagle for ceremonial dances. The purpose of this false announcement is said to be to deceive the spirit of the eagle which might be listening.

The Black-foot Indian who is in the habit of killing eagles is nevertheless afraid of the consequences. He, therefore, propitiates the carcases by taking them and placing them in a special lodge, called the eagle's lodge, situated outside the camp where he keeps them in a row and keeps a piece of dried meat in the mouth of each of them in the belief that the spirits will go and tell the other eagles how well they were treated by the tribesmen.

The Hindu never kills the bird as he regards it as the holiest of the holy and worships it ; nor does he catch or encage

it. Now-a-days in some parts of Southern India, low class people are seen catching the bird; keeping it in open cages after having tamed it; and carrying it from place to place, particularly to places visited by a large concourse of people for some religious purpose. They smear the bird with powdered turmeric, adorn it with flowers and chant some primitive prayers and sound the Indian flat gong. They thus eke a living by collecting money in the name of the bird from credulous and illiterate people.

Very near Madras in the Chinglepet District is the sacred hill of the kites known as Tirukkalukkunram or Pakshitirtham where two kites are said to come every day at noon and worship the deity. The story goes that these kites were two sages who were transformed into kites as they had sinned and that they now worship the deity as an atonement for their sins. This hill is very famous in the South and thousands of devotees gather there for worship. Also in Subrahmanya in South Canara, there is a temple dedicated to the serpent-god. On the day of the car festival of this deity, the car is said not to move until the Garuda appears in the heavens right over the car. Such stories are common with many a shrine in India.

## VI

These ideas of the bird, apart from their forming the basis for an enormous volume of myths, also gave rise to its adoption on royal crests. Totemism was perhaps responsible for the use by kings and knights of heraldry of animal and bird crests. It may be that the martial badge spread to all parts of the world from the Mediterranean bases.

The eagle as a badge is very common. As has been seen, it was an attendant of Zeus and Etana; and it decorated Krishna's flag as Garuda. We have then the eagles of Rome. The kings of Persia in the seventeenth century styled themselves as Lieutenants of the Eagles in allegiance to the kings of China who bore the title of the Eagles. Marco Polo, while in Agrigaia (identified with modern Nighsia) discovered that there was a royal custom of presenting tablets containing gerfalcons

(Shonkor) on them to certain very great lords. The possession of these tablets bestowed on the lords the full power and authority of the Khan. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that this Khan maintained huge eagles for hunting purposes and for catching wolves, foxes, deer and wild goats which they did with great dexterity. The Indian Garuda was the royal emblem of the Rashtrakutas, the Yadavas, the Silaharas and other South Indian dynasties. It is also found on some Pandyan coins. The eagle is again found on the banner of many countries of the modern world. The Phœnix has so established itself that it finds its place in workshops and printing presses and on bicycles and other machinery.

Human imagination and fantasy would not rest in adopting this wonderful bird in its natural shape. The large number of fables were there: and the artist and architect had their share in giving the bird all sorts of fabulous shapes. As an earnest of this, we find the first Hittite double-headed eagle dating so far back as at least 1000 B.C. The double-headed eagle was on the royal coat-of-arms of Imperial Russia and Austria and continues, nearer home, on the Mysore flag. The Hittite eagle was a 'conventionalised lion's head with birds' heads protruding from the ears, curving inward in opposition'. A Sumerian silver vase recovered from the Tello Mound and now in the Louvre contains a lion-headed eagle. Mackenzie thinks that the Hittite eagle perhaps symbolised the deity of which the king was an incarnation. This symbol occurs in the sanctuary at Boghaz-Keui and at the palace of Euyuk in North-western Cappadocia. In both the places, the double-headed eagle is seen as the support of divine and priestly personages. According to Fraser, this symbol was later adopted by the Seljik sultans of the middle ages whence it passed into Europe. The double-headed eagle is found on an ivory from Sparta. It also figures on a coin of ancient muscovy discovered by Tavernier. The Scythians later introduced this symbol to Taxila in India. Among Sir John Marshall's discoveries during the excavations at Taxila is a stupa at Sirkap belonging to the first century before Christ. Perched above

each of the central and outer niches is a bird, apparently an eagle, and one of these is double-headed. From Taxila, it travelled southwards and has now found a permanent and royal abode in South India where it has assumed the name of Ganda-bherunda. The admiration for this fabulous bird gradually reached such a height that the kings of Southern India began to adopt the name as a title such as 'a very Ganda-bherunda to the herds of elephants that are his foes'. It figures prominently as a title and on coins of the Chalukyas, the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagar kings; and was perhaps adopted by the Mysore Royal House on the fall of Vijayanagar.

Indian folk-tale-tellers were not slow in giving this bird the prominence it deserved as will be seen from the following story. In order to destroy Hiranya-kasipu, a rakshasa, and protect his son Prahlada, a devotee, Vishnu became incarnate as Narasimha, or the lion-headed man. After killing the rakshasa, Narasimha was mad with fury which began to burn the whole earth. Then Siva, the rival deity, assumed the form of Sarabha, another mythical beast which is said to be the terror of the lion. Vishnu, in his turn, immediately assumed the form of Ganda-bherunda, the terror of Sarabha.

From the simple eagle was evolved the lion-headed eagle, the Sumerian Tammuz-Ningirsu; and from the lion-headed was evolved the double-headed eagle. Reference has already been made to the eagle-lady found on a seal discovered by Hogarth at Zakro. Ezekiel refers to 'four living creatures' with 'four faces'—of a man, a lion, an ox and an eagle. They had all two wings and two human hands each. The Indian Garuda, as pointed out by Grunwedel, is a combination of the Indian parrot and the West-Asian griffin. In Buddhist art, the griffin resemblance was retained but later received human arms. In modern Indian art, Garuda has gradually become a winged man retaining no more of the bird-shape except the Alpine-Hittite nose which may be considered to be the beak. The same has happened all over; and even the double-headed Ganda-bherunda is represented in the Belgami (Shimoga District) monolithic pillar in Mysore of about the eleventh

century A.D. as a man with two heads and beaks of an eagle akin to the post-Asokan Garuda. In China, it is a winged man with the feet and claws of the bird and generally with the eagle's head. The Japanese, however, have two types: one is more man while the other is more animal. In Assyria, there was the deity with the head of an eagle, feather head-dress, wings and feather-fringed robes but with a human body. In one hand, there was a metal basket containing the holy tree adorned with two winged men and in the other hand was a fire-cone. According to Layard, this deity is identifiable with Nisroch "the word Nisr signifying in all Semitic languages, an eagle (Nineveh, 47). The deity is referred to in the Bible. 'Sennacherib, king of Assyria....was worshipping in the house of Nisroch, his god'." (Isaiah, xxxvii, 37–38). Nimrud, the ancient Calah, was a temple to Ninip or Enurta, the Assyrian war-god whose symbol was an eagle. The British Museum has a number of bas-relief sculptures of priests wearing the eagle-headed mask and the eagle-winged divine apparel, performing magical ceremonies. The eagle-crown is even now seen among the American Indian tribes. Among these can also be seen the eagle totem poles. At Elephanta, Garuda is seen with an appendage. In several sculptures, he is seen clasping the snake in his claws. In the Ellora temples, he is seen accompanying Parvati, Siva's consort. The Ganda-bherunda, in the ceiling of the Veerabhadra temple at Keladi in Mysore, is seen holding two elephants in its claws and two lions in its beaks; each of the lions, in its turn, holding an elephant in its claws.

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